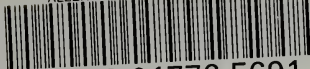


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LINCOLN'S HOME IN 1860

BY KENNETH SCOTT

UP to the time of Abraham Lincoln's nomination for the presidency "his name," to quote the *New York Daily News* of May 26, 1860, "was never heard in many parts of our country or in Europe." It was then only natural that the press of the nation was anxious to give the public whatever details it could concerning the candidate. The result was that numerous interviews were granted by the Republican standard bearer, especially to those to whom the *New York Herald* of August 1, 1860, sneeringly referred to as "the travelling newspaper correspondents of the republican faith," who "fulfilled the pious pilgrimage to the residence of Mr. Lincoln."

Thanks to the reports of journalists and other visitors to Springfield we have today a picture of Lincoln's residence as seen through their eyes. An early description is found in a letter which was printed in the *New York Evening Post* of May 23.¹ The letter, although initialed "J," was by George Opdyke, later mayor of New York. He wrote:

I found Mr. Lincoln living in a handsome, but not pretentious, double

¹ This was used by W. D. Bartlett in *The Life and Public Services of Hon. Abraham Lincoln* (New York, 1860), 146.

Kenneth Scott is professor of modern languages and head of the modern language department at Wagner College, Staten Island, New York. He has written articles on ancient history, American Colonial history and Abraham Lincoln. His book *Counterfeiting in Colonial New York* will be published this spring by the American Numismatic Society.

two-story frame house, having a wide hall running through the centre, with parlors on both sides, neatly, but not ostentatiously furnished. It was just such a dwelling as a majority of the well-to-do residents of these fine western towns occupy. Every thing about it had a look of comfort and independence. The library I remarked in passing, particularly, and I was pleased to see long rows of books, which told of the scholarly tastes and culture of the family.²

John L. Scripps, a *Chicago Tribune* editor, and author of the famous campaign biography of Lincoln wrote thus: "At home he lives like a gentleman of moderate means and simple tastes. A good-sized house of wood, simply but tastefully furnished, surrounded by trees and flowers, is his own. . . ."³

Two of Lincoln's old friends Gustave Koerner and Ebenezer Peck went to Springfield on an early train after the Chicago Convention. They called at the Lincoln home; entering, they stepped into the sitting room, and found there a "sort of long table set on one side, on which stood many glasses, a decanter or two of brandy, and under the table a champagne basket. Cakes and sandwiches were just being placed on the table by a colored man." When asked about the display the man replied: "O, this is for the Chicago folks, that come down to congratulate master."⁴

They remonstrated with Mrs. Lincoln, saying that some of the Eastern men might be strictly temperance people; Lincoln came in and agreed with Peck and Koerner, and things were removed. When the notification committee came Lincoln stood "on the threshold of the back parlor and leaning somewhat on an arm-chair." The committee formed before him in the front parlor while George Ashmun very formally addressed him in a well-considered speech.

Ashmun, President of the Republican Convention and head of the official committee sent to Springfield to notify the candidate of his nomination, described Lincoln's home. One

² George Opdyke probably came to Springfield with the official committee which notified Lincoln of his nomination.

³ *Chicago Press and Tribune*, May 23, 1860.

⁴ Gustave Koerner, *Memoirs of Gustave Koerner, 1809-1896* (Cedar Rapids, Iowa, 1909), II: 93-95.

member of the committee who dated his letter "Auburn, Tuesday, May 22, 1860" and initialed it "R," mentioned "a large two-story wooden house, raised considerably above the level of the street, and dwarfing by its greater height and size, the adjoining buildings." After referring to two small Lincolns "perched one upon each of the gate-posts," he continued: "The door opens into a broad hall, with rooms upon either side. Mr. Lincoln, who had been apprized of our coming, stood at the back end of the double parlor on the left,—in which was a bookcase filled with law-books."⁵

The *New York Daily Tribune* of May 25 printed a story under the caption, "Special Correspondence of *The Chicago Journal*, Springfield, Ill., May 19, 1860," in which the writer told how Ashmun and his party arrived at about eight o'clock in the evening at Lincoln's house, "an elegant two-story dwelling, facing west, of pleasing exterior, with a neat and roomy appearance, situated in the quiet part of the town, surrounded with shrubbery." As they "were passing in at the gate and up the steps" they came upon two Lincoln boys. Within they collected in the "large north parlor," where Ashmun addressed Lincoln, "who stood at the east end of the room" and later received the delegates "in the south parlor, where they were severally conducted after their official duty was performed."

The Springfield correspondent of the *New York Herald* wrote on June 11 these lines:

Mr. Lincoln lives in a plain brown two story wooden house, a little off at one side of the city, which is without ornament on it or in the grounds around it. Everything bespeaks a becoming absence of affectation and love of show, and an almost unbecoming absence of taste and refinement. . . . The internal appointments of his house are plain but tasteful, and clearly show the impress of Mrs. Lincoln's hand, who is really an amiable and accomplished lady.⁶

⁵ See the *New York Commercial Advertiser*, May 25, the *New York Evening Post*, May 26, and *New York Sun*, May 30, June 9, 1860. The two boys were nine-year-old Willie and six-year-old Tad.

⁶ *New York Herald*, June 26, 1860.

A correspondent of the *Utica* (New York) *Morning Herald* visited Springfield on June 21. He described the town as "a common-place, sprawling sort of town, covering about ten times as much ground as it ought, and remarkable chiefly for having no visible center of business." After walking, because he could find no hack, he finally reached his destination. He wrote:

A modest-looking two story brown frame house, with the name "A. Lincoln" on the door plate, told me that my pilgrimage was ended. I was met at the door by a servant, who ushered me into the parlor, and carried my note to Mr. Lincoln, who was upstairs. The house was neatly without being extravagantly furnished. An air of quiet refinement pervaded the place. You would have known instantly that she who presided over the modest household was a true type of the American lady. There were flowers upon the table, there were pictures upon the walls. The adornments were few, but chastely appropriate; everything was in its place, and ministered to the general effect. The hand of the domestic artist was everywhere visible. The thought that involuntarily blossomed into speech was, "What a pleasant home Abe Lincoln has."

When Mr. Lincoln came down to receive his visitor, the two men sat down "on the sofa."⁷

On August 8 a *New York Herald* correspondent wrote:

In a large two-story frame house, bearing no slight resemblance to Washington's headquarters at Cambridge, Mass., now the residence of Prof. [Henry Wadsworth] Longfellow, resides the Republican candidate for President of the United States, Abraham Lincoln. It is situated at the corner of Eighth and Edward [Jackson] streets in this city. Here Mr. Lincoln has resided for some twenty years [since 1844]. The edifice affords no indications of ostentation. It has no ornaments, no flowers or shrubbery, no marble vases or cooling fountains, no fashionable fences surrounding it, but is built plumb out to the sidewalk, the steps rather encroaching on the walk. It is like the residence of an American gentleman in easy circumstances, and is furnished in like manner. It is not near so aristocratic an establishment as the houses of many members of your Common Council. In short, there is no aristocracy about it; but it is a comfortable, cosy home, in which it would seem that a man could enjoy life, surrounded by his family.⁸

⁷ *Utica Morning Herald*, June 27, 1860. Reprinted in *New York Tribune*, July 9, 1860.

⁸ *New York Herald*, Aug. 13, 1860. Reprinted in *New York Tribune*, Aug. 14, 1860.

David McCullough, lawyer of Peoria, Illinois, born in Cumberland County, Pennsylvania, sent a letter to the New York press from Springfield which contained the following on the Lincoln residence:

The home of Mr. Lincoln is a simple two-storied double frame house, on the corner of Eighth and Edward [Jackson] streets a half dozen squares from the [St. Louis, Alton & Chicago] railroad depot. The dwelling, which wears a Quaker tint of light brown, stands upon a plateau—elevated three or four feet above the sidewalk. On a brick foundation wall rising to the level of the garden, is a neat paled fence, with handsome square posts, inclosing the front and side of the property. A back building joins the main edifice and in the rear there is a large garden. There is no sign of pretension anywhere visible. The building is singularly quiet-looking and cozy, just such a house as a sensible man in one of our sensible Pennsylvania towns would care to enjoy.⁹

A letter from Springfield, dated October 1, touched upon the candidate's home in the following sentence: "Already a traveller is pointed to a fine double two story wooden dwelling house, painted stone color, with green blinds, situated in the southwesterly [southeasterly] part of the city, as the residence of Abraham Lincoln."¹⁰

A correspondent who presumably was visiting in Springfield at the time of the election published in *Leslie's Weekly* of November 17 a description of the home which adds some details to those given in previous accounts:

It stands on a sort of platform of brickwork, and is two stories high, having two windows on each side of the door and five on the upper story. The side view shows that it has an extension and side entrance, with a receding stoop running the whole length of the extension. In the rear are the stables and barn. The edifice is painted a pale chocolate color, and the window blinds are of a deep green. The roof extends a little over the edges, like that of a Swiss cottage. The rooms are elegantly and comfortably furnished with strong, well-made furniture, made for use and not for show. On the front door is a black doorplate, on which in silvered Roman characters, is inscribed the magical name, "A. Lincoln."¹¹

⁹ See *New York Daily Tribune* and *New York Times*, Aug. 23, 1860, and *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* (March, 1947), 93-94.

¹⁰ *New York Herald*, Oct. 20, 1860.

¹¹ The original doorplate is on display in the Illinois State Historical Library.

A Springfield visitor, Benjamin F. Seaver, wrote to his wife on November 17 about the home of the President-elect: "His house too we saw & it is a very plain 2 story, & rear projection, wooden one, nothing like so handsome as ours. There was a broken pane of glass each side of front door, & two or three broken blinds on the side; otherwise very neat in appearance in all respects."¹²

During the fall of 1866, the Rev. Edwin S. Walker stopped for a week in Springfield and penned the following description of the dwelling which had for so many years been the home of the Martyred President:

The plain, two-story brown house in which Mr. Lincoln lived, is well represented in the steel engraving found in Dr. Holland's *Life of Lincoln*. It is located on Eighth street, two or three blocks south-east from the State House. Fronting westward and southward on two streets, it stands about fifteen feet from the sidewalk, its sombre aspect in full keeping with the memories which cluster around it. A single elm tree, half a foot or so in diameter, near the edge of the side-walk, is the only object which relieves the eye from a full view of the house. On the south, a close board fence encloses the lot two-thirds of its length, the rest of the yard, including that in front of the house, being enclosed with a plain picket fence. A climbing rose with a few other shrubs are the only natural ornaments which adorn the place. Through the centre of the house, east and west, is a hall, on the left of which are two parlors connected by folding doors On the south side of the hall is a sitting-room fronting westward, and southward; in the rear of this, also fronting southward, is the dining room, and still further east are the kitchen and other rooms occupying the east wing. On the rear of the lot resting on an alley, is a small barn and wood-shed combined, covered with boards rough from the saw, and browned by the weather. The whole establishment is embraced in a single lot, sixty by one hundred and sixty feet [152 feet] in size. It is a type of republican simplicity, which contrasts widely with the extensive mansion and numerous outbuildings, the once beautiful gardens, the extended lawns, and broad fields of Mt. Vernon. The latter was a home illustrative of the tastes of the Virginia cavalier, not more so than was the plain brown house in Springfield a home in keeping with the tastes of the Illinois lawyer.¹³

¹² Benjamin F. Seaver to his wife Lucy, quoted in full in J. L. McCorison, Jr., "Mr. Lincoln's Broken Blinds," *Lincoln Herald* (June, 1948), 43-46.

¹³ Article is dated Feb. 19, 1867, but the newspaper is not identified. Biographical sketch of Walker in *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* (Oct., 1912), 427-29.

THE HAPPY SOLDIER

The Mexican War Letters of John Nevin King

EDITED BY WALTER B. HENDRICKSON

PART I

MANY young men have found hardship, discomfort, and sometimes danger, the lot of the soldier. Others have discovered that war was an exciting adventure, or an escape from a humdrum existence. Still others have won their fortunes, or at least have earned more money than was possible in civilian life. One such was John Nevin King, nineteen years old, who was, physically and temperamentally, so suited to life in the army that he liked everything about it. He grew fat on pork and beans and landed a clerical job in the quartermaster's office where he did not have to suffer the dull round of the soldier's between-battles existence.

Young King joined the Fourth Regiment of Illinois Volunteers in the War with Mexico. At the time, he was living with his father, David King, at Erin Bank Farm on Lick Creek, near Berlin, Sangamon County, Illinois.¹ As the eldest of eight boys and one girl,² he had been his father's confidant and assistant in the toilsome business of making a prairie farm support a large family. David King had been an iron (hardware) merchant in Pittsburgh, a partner in the firm of King,

¹ The farm was about three miles south of the present town of New Berlin.

² Eventually there were ten boys and three girls born in the family, but one boy died when very young.

Walter B. Hendrickson is professor of history at MacMurray College, Jacksonville, Illinois. He is the author of David Dale Owen, Pioneer Geologist of the Middle West, published in 1943. His article, "Commencement Week in 1876," appeared in the Spring, 1950 issue of this Journal.

Higby, and Anderson, which, like many other businesses, experienced difficulties in the panic of 1837. After the dissolution of the firm in bankruptcy proceedings in 1842, King came to the Illinois country the next year and bought a farm.³

In spite of the hard times, David King had managed to send John and his brother Campbell to Bethany College, the institution founded in 1840 at Bethany, Virginia (now West Virginia), by Alexander Campbell, the leader of the religious denomination of "Christians" or Disciples of Christ. Although he did not graduate, John was allowed to finish out the year 1843, even though the family had moved west. It was largely because of this good education that John was able to do so well for himself in the army.

When war with Mexico was declared by Congress on May 13, 1846, John was inspired with the same burst of patriotism that drew so many boys and men to the colors as one-year volunteers.⁴ In Illinois, for example, while three regiments were authorized, four finally took the field, and still there were men waiting to enlist.⁵ It was at Springfield on June 9 that

³ David King to John N. King, Pittsburgh, Oct. 18, 1842. The King letters are a very large collection of family letters, now in the possession of Miss Bertha Mason and Mrs. Fred Seegar, nieces of John Nevin King, of Jacksonville, Ill.

⁴ John's father had objected to his enlistment as a private soldier. Late in life John King recalled his father's efforts to secure his release in an incident in which Mrs. Abraham Lincoln played a part: ". . . my father came to camp near Spring[fiel]d to see Col. Baker to obtain my release from enlistment as volunteer, he told me that Aunt Eliza had come with him and was at Mrs. Lincoln's house. Not seeing Col in camp he said we would find him up town. On the way up he said we will call and see the ladies. Arriving in front of Mr. Lincoln's house both ladies were at the door, and my salutation was 'You are a nice fellow to associate with the rowdy volunteers,' and invited us in. I declined to go in and replied that if that was their opinion of patriotic volunteers this was no place for me. Bidding the ladies good morning, I said to father let us go & find Col B." King also wrote, "I am not proud, as too ma[n]y are, for services rendered in that war as in more mature years, I believed the war was an unholy one, instigated and prosecuted in furtherance of securing territory for the extension of slave holding interests. At the time of my enlistment as a volunteer I gave no thoughts to its political tendency." Manuscript note in King letters, no date. Aunt Eliza was Eliza Denniston, his mother's sister, and a little younger than himself.

⁵ There were other smaller units of volunteers, and a number of Illinois men enlisted in the regular army. For a contemporary account of the war, see Edward D. Mansfield, *The Mexican War: A History of its Origin, etc.* (New York and Cincinnati, 1848). For the part played by Illinois men, see Alexander Davidson and Bernard Stuvé, *A Complete History of Illinois* (Springfield, 1874). The generally

John was mustered into Captain Achilles Morris'⁶ company, which later became Company D, Fourth Regiment of Illinois Volunteers, commanded by Congressman Edward D. Baker of Springfield.⁷

The Illinois companies were ordered to assemble at Upper Alton, and John and his fellow soldiers from Sangamon County marched there by way of Chatham and Carlinville, arriving July 3, 1846. The first letter he wrote back to his father showed that the young man was off to a good start, and had quickly learned some things not to do, if he were to succeed in the army:

On Sunday night our regiment camped 3 miles from Carlinville, the day we left Chatam. David Jared [Jarett], a brother-in-law of Capt Morris and uncle of Bunks⁸ took sick that night and died the next day and was buried with the honors of war the next day on the ground we camped on. He drank very hard for the last 8 or 9 years and most people thought he would have

acknowledged authority is Justin H. Smith, *The War With Mexico*, 2 vols. (New York, 1919). There are excellent chapters on the war, particularly the Veracruz to Mexico City campaign, in Lloyd Lewis, *Captain Sam Grant* (Boston, 1950), and Douglas S. Freeman, R. E. Lee: *A Biography*, 4 vols. (New York, 1934), vol. 1. See also Isaac H. Elliott, compiler, *Record of the Services of Illinois Soldiers in the Black Hawk War, 1831-32 and the Mexican War, 1846-8* (Springfield, 1882). This contains the muster rolls of each company and regiment, but there are many inaccuracies. For the identification of individuals I have used Smith, *The War with Mexico*; John C. Power, *History of the Early Settlers of Sangamon County, Illinois* (Springfield, Illinois, 1876); Allen Johnson, Dumas Malone, and Henry Starr, eds., *The Dictionary of American Biography*, 21 vols. (New York, 1928-1944); and *Harper's Encyclopedia of United States History*, 10 vols. (New York, 1902).

⁶ Achilles Morris was born in West Virginia, married there, and came to Loami township, Sangamon County, in 1826. He served in the Black Hawk War and four terms in the state legislature. Capt. Morris died in Mexico in 1847. His eldest son, Jonathan, enlisted in his father's company, and was promoted to major of the Fourth Illinois Regiment in Mexico. (See note 8). He was one of the party that captured Santa Anna's wooden leg, now in the custody of the Adjutant General of Illinois. See also John King's account of this incident in *Jacksonville Daily Journal*, Feb. 16, 1914: "[At the battle of Cerro Gordo] I noticed not far distant a carriage, no team being attached to it, and jestingly said to my comrades, 'Boys, there is Santa Anna's carriage.' Some of the boys went to the carriage, obtained Santa Anna's cork or wooden leg, which was brought back to Springfield as a trophy. They also picked up several Mexican dollars scattered on the ground and [I] guess [these] never reached as far as Springfield."

⁷ At the outbreak of the Mexican War, Baker returned from Washington to raise a regiment of volunteers. He was an influential member of the Whig Party in Illinois until he went west in 1852. He was elected to the United States Senate from Oregon in 1860. He recruited a regiment in the Civil War and was killed at the battle of Ball's Bluff in 1861.

⁸ Bunk Morris was probably Jonathan Morris, son of Achilles. See note 6.

died long ago. Neither the Capt nor Bunk took it very hard as they were looking for him to die every day. A great many of the people thought his death was hurried on by his not getting anything to drink after being drunk for a week. On Sunday he drank a great deal and kept in his tent and went to sleep instead of walking around until he got sober, and whilst laying there he was seized with a fit in which he died. . . .

I am in Miltons tent.⁹ He is the greatest changed man you ever saw. I am glad to state so that you can tell his mother that I have not seen him drink any since we have been here, and that he has quit gambling and behaves himself remarkably well. We do not allow card playing at all in our tent neither for fun love nor money.¹⁰

Throughout his career in the army, John King was consistently sober and careful with his money, certainly the exception rather than the rule, because he noted that "we did not stay in Carlinville any longer than we could get fresh water. Col Baker went there a little while before us and placed some guards before all the grog shops so that no one could get any liquor in any form to drink." And, if it wasn't safe to drink hard liquor, neither was it always safe to drink water, because John told about a "man by the name of Webber who after reaching Alton in a very warm state drank a great deal of cold ice water when to warm, then went in a swimming and came out and went back to our Camp at Upper Alton and took sick and expired in the afternoon and was burried with the honors of war to day (3rd of July) He was also a hard drinking man and drunk nearly all the time since he volunteered."¹¹

The troops halted at Alton long enough to receive their "arms and accoutrements," before marching to Jefferson Barracks at St. Louis. Here John had one of the few sick spells of

⁹ Milton Morris was probably a son of either William D. Morris or John Morris, brothers who had come to the Lick Creek area in 1825. They were not related to Achilles and Jonathan Morris.

¹⁰ In editing John King's letters, I have retained the spelling and abbreviations of the originals, and no change has been made in word order. Ellipses have been used both for words and sentences omitted. Since there are thirty-five long letters, written in small, careful script in this Mexican War series, I have thought it wise, considering limitations of space, to make selections from each of them, rather than to give them in their entirety.

¹¹ To his father David King, Alton, July 3, 1846.

any kind that he suffered in the war. He told his mother:

I have been well since I left home excepting two days Fryday & Saturday. I had a slight Bowel complaint but am over it now. Dr McKneil [McNeill] of Springfield¹² is our surgeon, a very fine man and much esteemed by all the regiment. . . . I took some calomel and something I dont know what from Dr. McK which eased my bowels in short order. When Mrs Morrison heard I was sick she sent Eugene her son to see if she could do anything for me or if I wanted any Jelly, preserves, or any thing at all.¹³

To his mother's anxious inquiry about how he was standing the marching in rain and sun, he replied reassuringly that "we have not marched over one hour in the rain since we left Springfield. The sun was not very warm. We marched only 20 miles in a day and that is merely good exercise for me. The 1st 2d and 3d Regiments passed here yesterday for Mexico and we leave here for Point Isabel¹⁴ on Thursday. We are to go under General [Zachary] Taylor."¹⁵

Meanwhile the soldiers had their first pay day, and John spent \$13.19 for the making of his uniform and forwarded \$25 to his father, for, as he said, "I had no use for it. I have 7 or 8 dollars left, and on the 9th of August we draw 16 or 20 dollars more. I don't know whether we get 8 or 10 dollars a month.¹⁶ Any how we draw our monthly pay every two months. . . . Tell Father I will keep enough money to bring me home should we be disbanded in Mexico or Texas." John went on to discuss other matters of concern to his mother. He told her he already had a New Testament, "before you mentioned it." She need not worry about his not getting enough

¹² Dr. Francis A. McNeill, an ordained minister of the Methodist Church and a graduate of the University of Maryland where he studied medicine, came to Springfield in 1835, where he preached and practiced medicine. He does not seem to have gone to Mexico, since John makes no further mention of him, and Power, *History of the Early Settlers of Sangamon County*, says nothing of war service, and notes that McNeill moved to Peoria in 1847. He is not listed as the surgeon of the Fourth Regiment in *Record of the Services of Illinois Men in . . . the Mexican War*.

¹³ To Sarah Anne King, St. Louis, July 19, 1846. I am not able to identify Mrs. Morrison. Jelly and preserves were looked upon as necessary aids to recovery from any illness.

¹⁴ Point Isabel was one of several camps for receiving volunteers. It was on the Gulf of Mexico near the mouth of the Rio Grande.

¹⁵ To Sarah Anne King, St. Louis, July 19, 1846.

¹⁶ It proved to be \$8.00.

sleep because he had not seen a mosquito since he left home, and very few flies, and "there is not much danger of their breaking my rest." Several of his friends were sick. Bunk Morris had the bowel complaint, and the doctor said it was so common because of the change of climate and water.

John checked with Colonel Baker, and confirmed the rumor that they would be headed for Point Isabel and then be on their way to Mexico City, and suddenly he was awake to the fact that he was a soldier, that his country was at war, and that "soon there would be fighting to do. . . ." He asked that his mother kiss all his brothers.

This may be the last letter I may write to you but the Lord is just & gracious, he only knows who may be slain in . . . battle, and should it be my lot, remember I left in good humor, as you know without the least angry thought against any one. When you write tell me all about Lucie [his young sister], and all the boys. Who got my gun, horn &c.

again Farewell,¹⁷

The Fourth Regiment, which believed itself to be "not only the best drilled, [and the best] looking, but the best behaved one" that had come down the river, was marched all over St. Louis so that Colonel Baker could show it off.¹⁸

The regiment embarked on the steamboat *Sultana* on July 22, but the boat did not get under way until the next day. Progress down the river was slow. It was not until Saturday, July 25, that they passed Memphis, "a small town but quite pretty, and . . . situated in a bend of the river. The houses are all of brick." Monday they steamed past Arkansas and Tennessee where they saw "many large plantations judging from the large no of negro houses all along the river." At ten o'clock at night they stopped briefly at Vicksburg "to put out some freight . . . [but] no one was allowed to leave the boat." The *Sultana* did not arrive at New Orleans until Wednesday, July 29, having taken seven days to make the trip from St.

¹⁷ St. Louis, July 19, 1846.

¹⁸ To David King, New Orleans, July 30, 1846.

Louis. John said of the great gateway to the Mississippi Valley:

The city is verly large and . . . pretty. There is about one hundred and 50 ships there now, besides many brigs and steam Boats. Since we came here there was four ships came up the river and only one went down. There is a steam ship here anchored out in the middle of the river waiting for us. . . . The Levee here is not much higher than the city as was reported. It is not more than 3 feet at the highest place. I went fishing yesterday but could not get a bite, but fish 3 and four feet long would jump up just beside the boat. . . .

New Orleans runs east and west or rather its streets run east and west and the city is built so. . . . Hogs are not allowed to run in the city. I should like to live here very much. There has been very little sickness here this season and a case of yellow fever has not been known. The climate, some think is much warmer than Lick Creek, but if what the people says is true I have seen as warm a day on Lick Creek. . . . It rains about noon nearly every day. The warm part of the day here is from 10 until two oclock. After two it is quite pleasant. The mornings are quite cool. The breezes from the Gulph are really pleasant. . . .¹⁹

There are no letters telling of John's trip across the Gulf of Mexico to Texas, but by August 16 he was in camp on the Rio Grande, about ten miles from the coast town of Brazos Santiago. He told his father that he thought he would stay there "until fall when we will be disbanded." In the camp the Illinois troops found themselves among a number of men from Kentucky, Alabama, Georgia, and Tennessee. John was shocked at some of the things that went on. He told about a great fight between the Georgians and the "Kentucks." The Georgians routed the Kentuckians, and no one was killed although some blood was shed. "They fought with knives, clubs bottles and every thing they could lay hands upon and many were sadly hurt." He reassured his family that he was well, but he said that "a man in one of the Regiments, whilst standing guard was sun struck and fell dead upon the spot. The regiments from Kentucky have the measles and mumps among them."²⁰ A boat has just landed to take them up the

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ Childhood diseases were frequent among the young soldiers of both the Mexican and the Civil wars. So many men came from isolated farms and had not been exposed to mumps, measles, chicken pox, etc.

river a few miles. When sickness gets into camp they always move the regiment as it is considered healthy."²¹ John described the camp as being

on the banks of the Rio Grande about 10 or 12 miles from its mouth. The Rio Grande is much muddier and swifter than the Mississippi, and is about or between three and four hundred yards wide. It looks very much like our creek when it is high, up to the top of the banks. It is very deep, and the water is cool and healthy. . . . The day we arrived here some of our men killed 29 rattlesnakes in one hour and it was not a good day for snakes, either. The largest one was 4 feet $\frac{1}{2}$ long the others not so large. . . . There are all kinds of vermin here, horned toads and horned grass hoppers. All insects have horns.²²

John was making his future, although he did not know it. His officers were observing him, and he did stand out because of his sobriety and steady dependability. His facility with the pen was utilized by them:

I wrote a letter for Captain Morris to his wife from Brazos Santiago and you can get the letter to read if you want it. He thought it was first rate and he wanted all our neighborhood to see it. You can send round and get it. He paid quite a compliment to me in it, but I did not want to write it, but he made me do so. He promised when I was writing, to do something for me if he was elected to the state legislature this session when we got home.²³

A few days later John wrote to his brother James telling him,

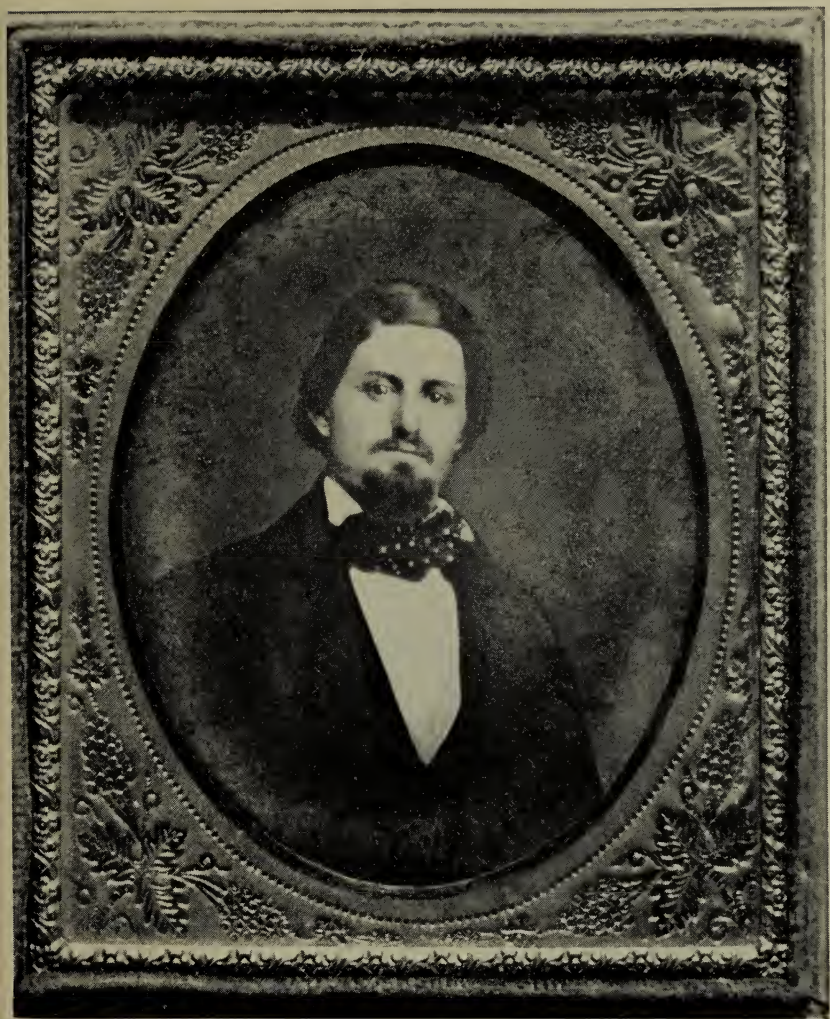
I know that you will be a little surprised on Receiving a letter from your brother, who a few weeks ago was among you, enjoying all the comforts any person kneeded in this life, and among many friends, much esteemed by him, and moreover in his happy home. "There is no place like home." There is in that simple phrase, a great deal which many out on this campaign can and do say with sincerety of heart. Now far away, but among many friends, I know there is no place like home, but I can make myself contented in any place.²⁴

²¹ It was the prevailing medical theory that these diseases were caused by "polluted" air, and certainly, considering the poor sanitary arrangements in army camps, the air soon became somewhat less than clean and sweet-smelling. See George W. Adams, *Doctors in Blue* (New York, 1952), for a discussion of military medicine in the Civil War. Conditions were much the same, perhaps worse, in the Mexican War.

²² To David King, Brazos Santiago, Aug. 16, 1846.

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ To his brother, James King, Banks of the Rio Grande near Berita, Aug. 22, 1846.



JOHN NEVIN KING, THE HAPPY SOLDIER

From an ambrotype owned by his nieces, Mrs. Fred Seegar and Bertha King Mason of Jacksonville, Illinois.

Here is the secret of John King's satisfaction with the life of a soldier. In his letters he made frequent mention of his friends and family, but he was never homesick; he wanted to hear from them, and he was a little hurt if he did not receive

frequent letters, but he never expressed a desire to be back home. In the early months of his army service he was surrounded by men who had been his neighbors, and so he was never lonely. Later, when the Illinois regiments had gone home, he was still contented.²⁵ John reported to his brother that he was stationed near the town of Berita:

[It is] a small town on the river, with about 100 inhabitants, and they are hardly inhabitants, for they are nearly scared to death. We have been here for a little over a week, and most of our troops are satisfied here, but we are not to remain here long, if report that is now raging be true. It is the report that on Tuesday next. . . . General Taylor with his forces leaves Camargo, and will take up his line of march for Monterey, and as soon as practicable, we will leave here for Camargo.²⁶

Since James was employed in a general store, John thought he would like to know about commodity prices in Mexico:

Shoes common are worth from two to 4 dollars. Whiskey which is brought here by smuggling sells very readily at 50 cents a pint. Whiskey of the meanest quality the same. Cheese worth only 50 cents a pound butter from 50 to 100. Flour \$10.00 per hundred weight Potatoes 25 cents a dozen either large or small. Lemon ade with a little Ice in it 10 cents. Straw hats from one to two dollars. Onions 6¼ cents a piece, Brandy 75, and Gin 50 cents per pint. Ground coffee 50 cents a pound. Blk Pepper per paper 25 cents. Ceyenne peper grows here in great abundance. I suppose you would like to make money selling things at these rates. . . .

I have enjoyed very good health ever since my sojourning in this the valley of life and death, or ants and flies. I have not seen a fence since I

²⁵ John King spent much of his life away from home and family. Soon after he returned from two years in Mexico, he was off across the plains to California, where he found employment in the quartermaster's department of the army, acted as assistant quartermaster of the railroad survey of the thirty-fifth parallel, and in a similar capacity on the Northwestern Boundary Survey of 1857-1861. He served through the Civil War as commissary of subsistence, with the rank of captain (he was brevetted major in 1865), taking part in several battles in the East and in Tennessee. After the war, he returned to the Pacific Northwest, where he worked at various jobs until he was appointed Deputy Collector of Revenue at Kodiak, Alaska. While there he married a widow, a Russian, with two small children. A son was born to John and his wife, Marfousa, in Alaska. In 1879 the family returned to Oregon, where he went into farming. His wife and her children died there, and John and his son returned to the Middle West, where they lived with one or another of his brothers and sisters. In his later years he made his home with his younger sister, Lucie King Mason, in Jacksonville, Ill., dying there March 26, 1915.

²⁶ To James King, Banks of the Rio Grande near Berita, Aug. 22, 1846.

left home, that is since I left New Orleans. I have not seen but one dog since we have been in Texas. But there is plenty of mules jacks and mustangs running wild all over the country surrounding this. The climate here is quite healthy but very warm. There was about 400 mules passed our encampment last night driven by Mexicans who were taking them to Brazos Santiago as Uncle Sam (Pres Polk) had bought them for the use of the government. Mules sells here for, from 10 to 20 dollars the best quality. Ponies can be bought for the same. If our company should take a notion to go home by land I will perhaps take a pair of mules with me or else I will get a pony for you and the other boys. I forgot to tell you that common writing paper is Selling here at 10 cents a sheet or \$2.40 cents per quire. . . .

The water all around us is rather Salty with the exception of the Rio Grande. You can dig a well 20 yards from the river and you cannot to save your life get fresh water. We are camped about one half a mile off of the river, but we have to go there for water to wash and cook with. We are all provided with tin canteens which hold only three pints and in which many of us carry our water. There is a few fish caught in the river once in a while, which vary from 10 to thirty pounds in weight. I have not caught any yet, as the sun shines so warm to be out in it. It is much warmer here than in Lick Creek but the mornings and evenings are quite pleasant. We drill every morning (Sundays excepted) from 7 to 8 o'clock, and in the evenings we form dress parade from 5 to 6 and then drill sometimes for an hour afterwards. We have not [had] to drill very hard.²⁷

John was one soldier who did not complain of the food. In fact he told James, "I suppose you think we fare very well for soldiers," and described army chow with hearty approval:

We have plenty to eat, good bacon, flour, rice, coffee, sugar, and occasionally vinegar and molasses. We drink coffee three times a day and make it very strong. We draw one pint for every six men per day [probably one pint, dry measure]. Plenty of flour which we make into dough and fry in our gravy which fries out of our meat. Sometimes we make it into batter and make fritters. Boiled rice is very good now I can assure you although as you know I would at home refuse it with Preserves on it. We sometimes draw Beans which we make dumplings and soup out of. . . . We are allowed to go hunting here either in Mexico or Texas. There is plenty of Beeves running at large and a few deer. We have killed several since we have been here. . . .

There is very few Mexicans to be seen here, and those that are here are hard at work. The country is very flat and nearly all of it is covered with water, making it impossible to move a regiment by land any distance. When we leave for Camargo we will take a boat.²⁸ There is no timber to be seen

²⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸ Camargo was about 200 miles up the Rio Grande and was the main base for army operations under Gen. Zachary Taylor in northeastern Mexico.

here, nothing but chapperel [chapparal]. This chapperel is a small bush you may say and resembles our peach trees as much as one peach tree does another, only the leaves are not alike. It is about the same size.²⁹

John was involved in one of the riots that took place among the restless soldiers who, unused to discipline, rebelled against it while inflamed by the cheap whiskey so readily available. Two Georgia companies on board a steamboat about to leave for the advanced base near Monterrey, began to fight among themselves. The colonel in charge of the Georgians asked Colonel Baker for help, and two companies of the Fourth Illinois, armed with unloaded muskets were called out. With Colonel Baker at their head, they marched to the boat:

[Baker] jumped aboard . . . drew his sword and commanded peace. No sooner did he do so than a captain or one of the Georgians (an Irish Company) drew his sword upon the Col. They made several passes at each other, and one of the georgians shot a pistol and Col Baker dropped, but just before we heard him plainly cry out "Come on Company D, your Col's in danger." . . . News came that the Col was shot dead, but somehow some of our men were on board the boat and immediately caught the Col and took him ashore.

All this while the georgians kept fighting among themselves and our men killing as many as they could of both companies of georgians. The Col was taken to a sutler store and kept there til morning. At last the war was quelled. Some few of the Georgians was killed and many were thrown overboard into the river who were never heard of. One man in our Regt. belonging to company C was mortally wounded by a pistol shot which he died of the 1st of Sept. I cannot give you a full account . . . as we know not how many was killed & wounded but, I am glad to state that Col Baker was not shot with a ball, but was wounded in the neck by a thrust of a bayonet and is not considered dangerous by our surgeon. The man that wounded him was killed by a man of our regt dead on the spot.

In the meantime, ammuniton was issued to the Illinois companies and the Georgians were confined to their boat. A guard, of whom John was one, was set for the night. It was not until sunrise next morning that a relief company was sent in and John and his fellows were allowed to return to camp for breakfast and a few hours sleep. Young King continued:

²⁹ To James King, Banks of the Rio Grande near Berita, Aug. 22, 1846.

When I awoke I went out to see what was going on and soon found out that the Georgians [had] submitted and stacked their arms before our guard. They were then marched up before our company and into our quarters, to be looked at by our Major and Lieut Col. 4 men were noticed that were in the affray and were ordered to be put under arrest and chained. They were chained and put on board the boat to be taken to headquarters where they will be court marshalled and perhaps shot.³⁰

A few days later the Illinois regiments were moved up the Rio Grande to the base camp at Camargo. King's company went on the *Colonel Cross*, a new steamboat which had been built in Pittsburgh and had come directly to the theater of war. At Camargo all four of the Illinois regiments were assembled. Soldier gossip had it that they were all to join General Zachary Taylor in his effort to defeat the Mexican forces and occupy the northeastern part of the country. John tells what he found at Camargo:

Camargo is quite a town or rather it has been before the Mexican revolution commenced but now nearly all the houses are deserted. There is a few Mexicans here who are very friendly but if they could only catch one of us alone from our camp they would soon put an end to us. . . . This place is situated on the San Juan River about 6 miles from its mouth. It empties into the Rio Grande. . . .

Gen Taylor is at Monterey reports say and it is rumored that he took it without firing a gun. But I am a little doubtful, for the Mexicans were some 20,000 strong and had fortified one of his passes.³¹ We expect to have one more battle with them. We will find out whether we will have to fight or not in a few days. If he has taken Monterey I think we will not have any thing to do except Guard Camargo. We have 24 pounders placed in their public square pointing every way, so it will be impossible for them ever to defeat us at this place.

General Shields has been ordered to go and meet General Wool at a pass he has to cross somewhere on the Rio Grande.³² There is 18 men to

³⁰ To Sarah Anne King, Rio Grande near Berita, Sept. 2, 1846.

³¹ The battle of Monterrey was fought and won on Sept. 20, 1846. The Mexican commander surrendered to Taylor on that date and on Sept. 24, the city was occupied by the Americans. The Mexican garrison was less than 10,000; Taylor's force was about 6,000.

³² James Shields was made a brigadier general of volunteers by President Polk when the Mexican War broke out. He was put in command of the First Illinois Brigade composed of the First and Second Regiments. After the battle of Cerro Gordo he was brevetted major general.

John E. Wool entered the army during the War of 1812, becoming a brigadier general in 1841. He was a division commander under Taylor and was brevetted major general after the American success at the battle of Buena Vista.

guard him on his way, they are to go on horseback. Ed Allsbury, Bunk Morris, Harvey Darneille and Hugh Paul³³ are going from our company. There is several more going from our Co., [but] none that you know. I wanted to Go but Captain Morris [did] not want me to do so. . . . He also said that they would be in many dangers toils and snares on the trip and he thought that I had better stay with him. . . .

We have not drawn any of our monthly pay yet and it is uncertain when we will draw, as all the money that was here was taken to pay off the troops at Monterey. . . .

I am not tired of soldiering yet, and I think [I] wont be should we remain our year out. It is very uncertain how long we will be out. Some think . . . we will stay out our 12 months. I hardly know what to think. But it makes little difference how long we stay if I can enjoy good health. I [think] I will be able any how to make 50 dollars more for you. I know 50 will help a good deal. I am sorry that I cannot send you some now. But if I had a thousand, it would be too much risk to run, to send it in a letter from here. I will take care of all I draw and spend as little as possible. . . .³⁴

Satisfied though he was, John King still thought of family and friends back home. As the preceding letter indicates, he was very generous, feeling a responsibility to help his father in every way he could. David King, with his large family, a wife who often was not well, and because of his inexperience as a farmer, was frequently in need of cash. John's concern over not being able to send any money home was somewhat relieved when he heard from his brothers that the family was doing very well because the crops had been good, and the stock was fattening.³⁵

John, assuring his brothers that he was "still in good health, . . . although it is quite a hard life to live," reviewed the war situation:

General Woolls whole Brigade enjoying good health. . . . Col Hardin³⁶

³³ I am not able to identify any of these men (except Bunk Morris, for whom see note 8). There was a Darneille family that lived in the Lick Creek area, but Power, *Early Settlers of Sangamon County*, does not list a Harvey. Power names an Alsbury and an Aylesbury family who lived in Sangamon County, but no Ed in either. No Paul family is noted as living in the county.

³⁴ To David King, Camargo, Sept. 27, 1846.

³⁵ To his brothers (not named individually), Camargo, Oct. 16, 1846.

³⁶ John J. Hardin of Jacksonville was elected colonel of the First Regiment in 1846. He led his regiment in the battle of Buena Vista where he was killed on the field.

has lost only 9 men out of his whole regiment since he left Alton Ills. and think of some of our companies loosing 14 men. Our Company (D) has lost 8 since we left Sangamon. . . . Col Forman's troops³⁷ are camped with us. . . . The Mexicans it is stated are fortifying at Sautillo [Saltillo] about 300 miles from here. Report says they are 30,000 strong and by first of March they will be 50,000 strong and be ready for another *Fandango* (fight) We are to leave here shortly, and march and join General Wools army and then we will proceed to Sautillo and attack that place.

I suppose you know that Tampico is taken and that it was taken by our marine forces. Such is the report we have.³⁸ Only a few days ago it was thought we would have to go to Tampico, but now report says Sautillo.³⁹

The longer John stayed in the army, the better he liked it, and in his next letter to his father he was thinking of seeking an appointment to West Point. He served as Colonel Baker's orderly and took advantage of his association with the colonel to ask that Baker use his influence to get him an appointment. John told his father:

I am very well and still satisfied with soldiering. I dont suppose you would know me, I have grown so much. I am very fleshy. The climate here agrees with me. The water of the San Juan river is quite warm so warm that we can bathe in it. . . . We have been at this place nearly 3 weeks (Camargo) abought 150 miles from Monterey. We did not get here in time to go to Monterey for the battle or we would have been in it. We may have some hard fighting to do yet, but it is very uncertain. I hardly think we will be disbanded until our year expires.

General Patterson is here, and he has the big head so much that no person can see him. I am acting as Col Bakers Orderly to day and he said he could not dare hardly speak to him let alone introduce a person to him. . . .⁴⁰

I hope you are getting along well. I long to see all of you. I often think of you all, but I am doing very well at present.⁴¹

(To be concluded in the Summer issue.)

³⁷ Ferris Forman of Fayette County, colonel of the Second Illinois Regiment.

³⁸ Tampico was not seized by a naval force until Nov. 15.

³⁹ To his brothers, Camargo, Oct. 16, 1846.

⁴⁰ Robert Patterson, at this time major general in command of forces along the Rio Grande, was from Pennsylvania. David King had known General Patterson, and he wanted John to introduce himself. The remark here attributed to Col. Baker reflects the general opinion of both men and officers that Patterson was pompous and overbearing.

⁴¹ To David King, Camargo, Oct. 23, 1846.

JAMES ROBERT MANN: LEGISLATOR EXTRAORDINARY

BY L. ETHAN ELLIS

THE skilled technician, bulwark of American industrial know-how, has opposite numbers in many fields. Such a socio-political mechanism as the legislative process, for example, presents the tyro with problems at least as complicated as those of industry. And a study of the record discloses the recurrent appearance of legislative technicians as skilled as their industrial counterparts. Such was James Robert Mann (October 20, 1856-November 30, 1922), who for thirteen successive terms (after his election in 1896) sat in Congress for the Hyde Park district of Chicago.

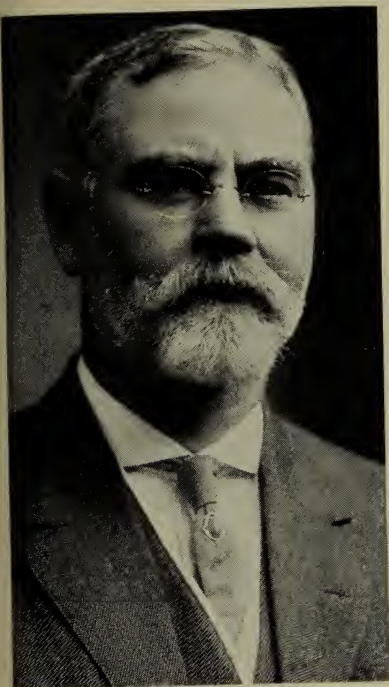
The writer first encountered Mann while hopefully pursuing his doctorate via a study of the congressional careers of a group of Chicagoans. The vast majority of these lake-front worthies rest quietly embalmed in the obscurity of his dissertation. It has always seemed, however, that at least one merited a better fate. From old notes, from the pages of *The Congressional Record*, and from the thirty-five volumes of Mann Papers in the Library of Congress (consisting mostly of the gleanings of a clipping bureau; he destroyed his correspond-

L. Ethan Ellis is professor of history and chairman of the department of history at Rutgers University. His dissertation "A History of the Chicago Delegation in Congress, 1843-1925" was published in the Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society for the Year 1930 (pp. 52-149). He is also the author of three books and numerous articles for historical journals.

ence), let me try to reconstruct a career which for sheer usefulness in the process of legislation ranks high in American annals.

Such an essay may at once call attention to a figure distinguished within a somewhat narrow compass and furnish a minor footnote to the history of the legislative process.

Education and experience alike led Mann naturally into politics. Class valedictorian at the University of Illinois (1876) and at the Union College of Law (1881)—later Northwestern University Law School—Mann had, prior to his second graduation, begun to assist in the editing of federal court reports for Indiana, Illinois and Wisconsin. The contacts thus established eased open the professional door. He



Underwood & Underwood photo

JAMES R. MANN

lived in Hyde Park, then the largest village in the world, where an interest in its real estate development soon gave him a comfortable competence. Local affairs claimed considerable attention and he became successively a member of the board of education, a village trustee and village attorney. His Chicago firm of Mann, Hayes and Miller, real estate and chancery lawyers, made city contacts possible and a chance, said the unfriendly, to insert three pair of feet in the municipal trough. At any rate, he served as a master in chancery and as attorney for the South Park Commissioners, and when Hyde Park was annexed to Chicago his combination of village and city inter-

ests made him, in 1892, a logical contender for the City Council from the new Thirty-second Ward, which included the northern part of the quondam Hyde Park. His opposition to a clique of his fellow aldermen addicted to the not unfamiliar Chicago practice of "boodling" brought added prestige and rounded out his professional and early political experience.

As early as December, 1894, the incumbent Congressman, J. Frank Aldrich, told Mann that he planned to retire at the end of the Fifty-fourth Congress and advised the latter to prepare for the succession. With this blessing and his previous record, nomination and election followed in course. Re-elections in his strongly Republican district were normally routine matters; only occasionally did local or national upheavals pose momentary threats, and neither his standpattism and devotion to Speaker Joseph G. Cannon nor the Insurgent revolt of 1910-1912 sufficed to oust him. His district, practically a pocket borough, repaid his efficiency by faithfully returning him at each election through that of 1922.

Momentous changes were in the making as the Fifty-fifth Congress assembled on March 15, 1897, but these would hardly have been apparent to the Chicago neophyte. William McKinley had downed the cheap Populist-Democratic dollar, but the forces which were ultimately to saddle him with the responsibilities of world power were as yet only beginning to stir. A freshman congressman could watch the smooth operation of stout Republican majorities in both houses. Nelson W. Aldrich, William P. Frye, Orville H. Platt, William B. Allison, Shelby M. Cullom and Matthew S. Quay had long been senatorial names to conjure with; Thomas B. Reed continued to wield the power he had arrogated to the speakership some years earlier. Joseph G. Cannon's compounding of the Reed techniques would, during Mann's tour of duty, bring the office to greater power and to ultimate dis-

comfiture. Aside from Cannon and Cullom, only five out of the twenty-five Illinoisans then in Congress had served more than a single previous term; of the eight Chicagoans, two entered with Mann and the rest had preceded him by only two years. An early assignment to the important Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce recognized his abilities, afforded his energies an opportunity for exercise, and helped to establish the direction of his activities.

His first session saw him maintaining a respectful silence in the presence of his elders, but in the second his natural assertiveness involved him actively in the field of foreign affairs, one of the few areas which over the years interested him but slightly. He first briefly challenged Cannon's assertion that a proposal to place \$50,000,000 at McKinley's disposal in the Cuban crisis was not a war measure. Late in March, 1898, he engaged in vigorous backstage maneuvering to secure recognition of Cuban independence, and by mid-June was shouting for the annexation of Hawaii.

Gaining confidence and momentum from this modest start, by his third term he was on his feet more than any of his local confreres, a distinction maintained for many years. His natural combativeness fitted him aptly to become Speaker Cannon's watchdog and chief objector, a role which he had assumed as early as 1905. He became, too, the head of the Illinois delegation and its member on the Republican Congressional Committee, retaining these positions until his persistent support of Cannon's conservatism made continuance a party liability. By 1905, indeed, temperament and experience had combined to mold a pattern from which in the next half decade emerged his most important contributions. Just as he reached the peak of his powers the Insurgent upheaval forced him to switch his talents to the negative function of minority leader, where for nearly ten years he bent his energies to the thankless task of opposition.

The figure which trod the boards during these years has been outlined by friend and foe, by disgruntled adversary and by the memorial orator. Conning these divergent viewpoints and reviewing a fairly careful study of his activity as presented in the press and the pages of the *Congressional Record* furnishes the basis of the following sketch, which attempts a portrayal at the peak of his power and influence. Described on occasion as the Congressional counterpart of a schoolmaster and as a more elegant edition of John Hay, Mann appeared shorter than his actual height since his five foot nine inch frame carried one hundred and ninety pounds. Graying hair emerged into a white, somewhat undisciplined beard and a longish moustache. From these hirsute accoutrements, which topped a rather careless style of dress, emerged a gravelly but tireless voice. Under all he wore, according to an adversary, "the seven bull hides of Ajax," doubtless designed to ward off the darts of the Democrats.

His generally recognized legislative pre-eminence stemmed from unusually industrious and methodical work habits. It was his self-confessed custom to study the text of practically every bill which advanced past the stage of mere introduction, pencilling on each the points which seemed dangerous or objectionable to guide him when debate was in order. He continued this time-consuming habit for years, finally delegating the task of research and annotation to clerks, and was always well-fortified on run-of-the-mill proposals as well as those of greater import. The sheer physical labor entailed in reading these thousands of bills and the accompanying committee reports was no small item. He remained constantly on the floor when actual business was underway (he took no lunch), and was never far distant during general debate. His out-of-hours reading consisted of two newspapers, government reports, two garden books and four or five novels per week as escape literature, and the Congressional debates of the previous day perused

on the morning trip to the Capitol. His lighter moments were devoted to various domestic pursuits. A period of illness necessitating absence from the House found him making pickles and preserves; he was said to have personally "put up" two thousand jars. At another time he set out twenty thousand cuttings during a spring sojourn in Chicago. And on still another occasion he sent a form letter to the faithful of his district offering them as many tree and shrub seedlings (raised from seed gathered on White House and Capitol grounds) as they could take away with them. Once, too, he parried an embarrassing barrage of reportorial questions by proudly reporting that a florist had named a newly-developed lily after himself and Mrs. Mann.

This natural aptitude and this dedicated regimen developed a rare knowledge of parliamentary procedure. Nicholas Longworth referred to him as "a master legislator and a super-parliamentarian." Gaillard Hunt compared his work favorably with that of James Madison while the latter was fighting the legislative battles of the early Republic. After noting that Mann was on his feet during debate more than any member of his acquaintance, Frederick H. Gillett pointed out that he excelled in the routine of legislation, the "ordinary close, logical discussion which has influence with Members of the House and affects opinion here." And in 1913 Cannon, then a veteran of nearly forty years' service, could say that "in all that time . . . no man has served in this House . . . who by his industry, by his intelligence, by his courage . . . has been as competent a legislator as the minority leader of the House." A natural aggressiveness spurred this acquired knowledge to a point where practically no legislation passed without the impress of his molding hand. The reader of the *Record* is bewildered to find that the index of his activities often exceeds a page per session of that publication's fine print. The hundreds of references, however, turn out on examination to be of two sorts: first, a

solid contribution to the debate on certain measures; and second, an endless succession of brief appearances devoted to perfecting, advancing, or obstructing a huge variety of proposals.

During what might be called the period of his most constructive activity, prior to loss of the House to the Democrats in the election of 1910, he exerted these talents affirmatively; as leader of the minority he became an obstructionist par excellence and a great annoyance to the majority. Even while on the majority side, however, he annoyed some of his colleagues by the very excess of his knowledge. This made it hard for him to "suffer fools gladly," and on occasion he could not refrain from taking control (and consequently, credit) away from a colleague charged with primary responsibility. None disputed that the end-result was better for his interference, but few enjoyed the fact. For example Longworth, having referred to Mann in a 1923 address as "the ablest and most useful legislator that this country has produced in the last quarter of a century," proceeded to quote from his own remarks of an earlier day when he had chided Mann for wanting to play not only Hamlet, a role which he adorned, "but the fair Ophelia and the King and the Queen and the first grave digger."

Despite his activity, Mann's name stands on only two pieces of legislation, the Mann Act (1910) prohibiting the interstate transportation of women for immoral purposes, and the Mann-Elkins Act (1910) constructively amending the Interstate Commerce Act of 1887. Again, however, the overt record fails to measure his actual contribution to the legislative process, as an examination of various episodes, generally resulting from his membership on the Interstate Commerce Committee, will show.

The Act of 1887, intended to invest the Interstate Commerce Commission with regulatory power over the railroads, and the Sherman Act of 1890, aimed at combinations in restraint of trade, had fallen into respectable inutility, emascu-

lated by judicial interpretation and public indifference. Only after 1900 did the offenses of Big Business against the public interest push their way upward to command the attention of that shrewd reformer, Theodore Roosevelt. As early as January, 1898, however, Mann had gone on record as favoring a thoroughgoing revision of the Interstate Commerce Act. Five years later he steered through the House a bill establishing a new Department of Commerce and Labor, including a Bureau of Corporations, which he himself proposed. This fact-finding agency was designed to furnish information on corporate misdeeds as a means of supporting corrective measures. In 1903, too, he guided the House passage of the Elkins Anti-Rebate Act, designed to rectify one of the worst of railroad abuses. Thus he contributed positively to the first successful administrative and legislative attempts to ameliorate business abuses.

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He also forwarded the next regulatory step, the Hepburn Act of 1906, which at long last made the Interstate Commerce Commission a real instrument of control. Roosevelt's pressure, exerted early in 1905, led to the framing of various proposals, none of which became law. Mann played some part in framing one of these, and took occasion to introduce a bill of his own, the distinctive features of which were its attempts to speed up the cumbersome procedure presently slowing decisions in railway rate cases, and its proposal that (subject to judicial veto) a rate established as reasonable by the Commission should remain the maximum for five years. In the new Congress Mann labored valiantly on behalf of a new bill which became the Hepburn Act, his principal speech being a closely-reasoned argument addressed to the constitutional aspects of the rate-making power. At this point Roosevelt was reported to have referred to him as, next to Hepburn, his own most influential friend in the sponsoring committee; and another press

comment said that he had left his personal impress on all commerce legislation since 1900.

The next step was the Mann-Elkins Act of 1910, which extended the jurisdiction of the Interstate Commerce Commission over communication by telephone, telegraph, cable, and wireless and permitted it to suspend proposed rate changes pending examination into their reasonableness; more efficient handling of appeals from Commission decisions was sought through the agency of a special Commerce Court which was expected to gain expertness by devoting itself solely to commerce cases. As the new chairman of the Commerce Committee, Mann played a leading role in the history of this important legislation. After forfeiting a vacation junket to Panama in order to participate in framing the proposal, he initially refused to introduce the administration bill because he objected to the Commerce Court; his alternative (introduced January 4, 1910) contained a somewhat cumbersome substitute. Executive pressure, however, forced acceptance of the court; aside from this one defeat, the bill carried practically everything he favored. He had charge of the bill, and in opening debate he supported its Commerce Court provision. He carried it through the House and, as a member of the conference committee fought valiantly and in the main successfully for the House proposals against those of the Senate. This involved doing battle with such stalwarts as Stephen B. Elkins and Nelson W. Aldrich during the five weeks of the conference period; press reports had him coming off well in this contest. The Act, a landmark in its field, received Taft's ready signature and an expression of presidential confidence that it would contain no jokers after Mann's scrutiny.

Perhaps his most dramatic performance accompanied the passage of the act of June 30, 1906, directed to the regulation of interstate and foreign traffic in food and drugs. Again Mann had long been interested in the matter before it reached

the point of action, having proposed legislation as early as January, 1902. Four years passed, however, before he was able to help bring to fruition the work so long and vigorously pushed by Dr. Harvey W. Wiley of the Department of Agriculture. In March, 1906, Mann reported the Hepburn Bill, already twice defeated in the Senate after having passed the House, but various parliamentary misadventures kept it in abeyance until early June. Roosevelt, on June 4, made public the sensational report of the Neill-Reynolds investigation into conditions in the Chicago meat packing industry; the same day Mann introduced a resolution bringing the House pure food proposal (an improved substitute for a Senate bill already before the House) to the floor, but Speaker Cannon, fearful of political consequences in an election year, ignored Mann's maneuver.

Executive pressure forced the Speaker's hand and the bill passed in the session's hectic closing hours. Mann brought to the fray elaborate exhibits showing the evils of the existing situation; he paraded honey, manufactured in a glucose factory, but containing an occasional dead bee to give verisimilitude, pepper berries made of tapioca dyed with lampblack, and another substitute offered to the pepper trade at five dollars per ton, designed for conversion into the "finest pepper," for sale by the ounce. His speech, with the amused and delighted interruptions of his colleagues, covered ten pages of the *Record*—its supporting documentation another fifteen. He was largely instrumental in putting the bill through the House and the ensuing conference committee. Wiley thanked him heartily for his contribution to this first step in protecting the public from unscrupulous purveyors of adulterated and misbranded articles; years later Cannon referred to the Act as "the work of James R. Mann . . . one of the greatest triumphs of individual judgment, based on careful investigation, I have ever seen in the Congress."

In the list of commerce-connected legislation may be mentioned finally the law of 1910 to which Mann's name has always been attached in the public mind, the Mann Act prohibiting the interstate transportation of women for immoral purposes. This, along with the Mann-Elkins Act, a law providing governmental machinery for the Canal Zone, and one reorganizing the lighthouse service, bears witness to the diversity of his interests and his activity during the short period of his tenure as chairman of the committee.

He was also prominent in the successful move of the American Newspaper Publishers' Association to rid the press of tariff burdens on Canadian-produced newsprint. This program brought the publishers into sharp conflict with the domestic manufacturers, naturally desirous of retaining the benefits of protection. The publishers' failure to secure an adequate reduction in the Payne-Aldrich tariff of 1909 had much to do with the bad press accorded that measure; their subsequent pressure was significant, too, in embarking President William Howard Taft on the well-conceived but ill-starred adventure of reciprocity with Canada. Mann's figure moves actively through much of this complicated and rapidly shifting scene on a level which was to make him "the recognized congressional authority on paper for the next decade." His original involvement resulted from an evasive technique designed to keep the explosive tariff issue out of the 1908 presidential campaign.

Theodore Roosevelt's aversion to tariff-tinkering is well known; much less publicized is his deference to publishers' pressure in a seldom-noted message of March 25, 1908, recommending legislation removing the duties from wood pulp and reducing, under certain conditions, those on newsprint. The ensuing maneuvering threatened to blow the tariff question out into the open; resort was finally had to the time-honored tactic of the affrighted politician: an investigation was au-

thorized which would, it might be hoped, outlast the immediate emergency. Thus was born the "Mann Committee" of four Republicans and two Democrats, charged with studying the problem of newsprint supply. Its work continued from April, 1908 until rendition of its final report on February 19, 1909; lengthy hearings and extensive travel to producing areas in the United States and Canada eventuated in the accumulation of six volumes which have been mined profitably by every subsequent student of newsprint history.

Caught thus in the middle of a producer-consumer wrangle, Mann apparently approached his assignment without preconceptions. The record proved him a shrewd, persistent, and meticulously careful investigator who steered an urbane if sometimes caustic course between the windy arguments of rival claimants. The committee's tentative preliminary report (May 28, 1908) satisfied neither publishers bent on tariff reduction (it indicated unwillingness to strip newsprint of protective benefits without securing a Canadian *quid pro quo*) nor manufacturers desirous of keeping prices high (it gave some credence to publishers' charges of a manufacturers' combination to create monopoly prices). At almost the same time Mann introduced, by request, a bill permitting the President, under proper safeguards, to negotiate reciprocal tariff agreements. The publishers promptly picked up this cue and in the autumn came out in favor of a reciprocal arrangement with Canada which would attain their ends. The story to date shows Mann starting as an agent of party dilatory tactics, pursuing a middle course as committee chairman, and eventually proposing a technique which might attain the publishers' ends. The committee's final report was still more favorable to the publishers, as it confessed American dependence upon Canadian materials and proposed to reduce the tariff on newsprint from \$6.00 to \$2.00 per ton as a means of inducing Canada to remove existing export restrictions on wood, pulp and paper

which were presently endangering the perpetuation of the American newsprint industry by limiting its access to Canadian raw materials.

The Mann Committee's recommendations went into the House version of the Payne-Aldrich tariff legislation; the Senate raised the rate to \$4.00 per ton and the conference committee fixed the final levy at \$3.75 (plus a surtax of \$2.00 per ton, plus the amount of export levy, in case of Canadian taxation of exports of paper or its raw materials), to the considerable discomfiture of the publishers, who saw their hopes of cheaper newsprint going glimmering. In addition to its failure to cut the rate enough, the law contained retaliatory measures more severe than those recommended by the Mann Committee, directed, as were the committee's proposals, to obtaining relief from Canadian export restrictions. In his original remarks on the bill Mann supported the newsprint provisions, based on his committee's report; he pushed again the idea of reciprocity with Canada. When the conference committee reported the final provisions, much less favorable to the publishers, he indulged in one of his rare deviations from party regularity; the debate featured his disagreement with the newsprint provisions and his consequent vote against the entire conference report. He compared favorably his own proposition for the elimination of Canadian export levies with those of the conference committee, and challenged the whole proposal as a club waved under Canada's nose in contrast with the olive branch which he himself had extended to the Dominion.

When Canada refused to yield to pressure the unfavorable Payne-Aldrich arrangements became operative, with consequent ill effects on publishers' temperature and purses. In December, 1909, Mann attempted to resolve the impasse by introducing two bills, one of which went beyond the Mann Committee report and proposed complete removal of the newsprint duty in return for relaxation of Canadian restrictions.

The publishers exerted considerable intermittent but unsuccessful pressure to secure the passage of this bill, advantageous to their interest. From this point the newsprint story merged increasingly with the larger narrative of Taft's efforts to secure a fairly broad reciprocal agreement with Canada, and Mann's part in newsprint matters declined after the election of 1910 threw his party into the minority. His role, however, in furnishing information on the paper question and in attempting to improve the position of the newspaper publishers had been a not inconsiderable one.

The rising tide of Insurgency which swept a Democratic majority into the House elected in 1910 moved Mann across the aisle into the opposition, to whose leadership he was presently elevated. By this time temperament, habit, and experience had combined to develop a character which both fitted and handicapped him in the performance of his new assignment. For years he had been Cannon's deputy, though not nominally floor leader. This association bred both familiarity and admiration. When the Insurgent wave lapped at Cannon's feet in March, 1910, Mann was one of those whose broom tried to sweep it back. He became, too, a chief lieutenant in defeating the reformers by directing their own machinery against them. High Insurgent hopes had been set on new rules designed to force dilatory committees to disgorge bills kept overlong from the floor. When these were put to the test Mann co-operated with the Old Guard to vitiate their effectiveness; hopeful Progressives found first place pre-empted by his motion to consider a post office reorganization bill; Cannon blandly ruled that its fifty thousand words must be read for the information of the House—a process far outlasting the two days per month during which the new rules were operative. He continued to load the calendar, introducing in a single day no less than 107 motions to discharge committees. These episodes reflect accurately a well-developed conserva-

tism and a "stalwart partisanship" which in the view of his detractors crossed the line into toryism.

Curiously, however, he was chosen minority leader partly because of one of his infrequent moves off the party reservation, his opposition to the Payne-Aldrich Tariff having made him *persona grata* to the Insurgents who forced Cannon to relinquish control. More important, of course, were his proven industry and efficiency and his known skill at parliamentary manipulation. His new post gave full scope to this latter talent, already so well developed by 1908 that an exasperated opponent asserted that Mann would doubtless pause before the opening gates of Paradise to remark: "Reserving the right to object I will enter and look about a little." His own theories of minority leadership had developed within a few months to a point where he told an interviewer that it was his "duty to be posted about everything that comes before the House . . ." he "must have some knowledge of all bills which are on the calendar and of all reports which are made . . . must be in constant touch with the minority members of every committee and know what is going on in the committees . . . should know the merits and the defects of every bill which it is possible to call up."

This attitude toward his duties epitomized Mann's strength and indicated his chief weakness: in his efforts, highly successful, to master all the intricacies of procedure and complications of legislation, he tended to run a solo operation. Again and again he was criticized for failing to accept the assistance of his colleagues when available, and for taking into his own hands matters which normally were their responsibility. Whether because of over-weariness from much responsibility, or from an innate lack of tact, his methods often irritated friend as well as foe; his *brusquerie* became almost as noteworthy as his ability, and, together with failing health, militated strongly against his larger success as minority leader and

against the realization of his dream of becoming Speaker when his party returned to power in the election of 1918. He became, in short, a captive to the defects of his own good qualities.

His effective but somewhat high-handed leadership of the minority continued through Wilsonian reform, the tensions of the neutrality period, and the war crisis, punctuated only by a boom as presidential favorite son which died a-borning (1915), and by an illness which kept him inactive for months in 1918 at the height of the war. His last important battles, waged in 1918-1919, resulted in a combination of victory and defeat, in which he failed in his ambition to become Speaker, but retained a large share of control over legislative policy. His candidacy, announced in mid-December, 1918, after receiving the endorsement of the Republican members of the Illinois delegation, pitted him against Frederick H. Gillett of Massachusetts, his senior by two terms in point of service. A February caucus deprived Mann of his crowning achievement by choosing Gillett as the party's candidate.

A number of factors contributed to this disappointing result. Of minor importance was the charge that Mann had accepted gifts from interests seeking legislative favors. More significantly, his health had become increasingly precarious and was at best an uncertain quantity. His conservatism was well-established and compared unfavorably with Gillett's more liberal outlook. His colleagues as well as his opponents had felt the sting of his assertiveness and overcompetence. Moreover, the period of American neutrality had found him attacking Wilson on various counts, and exhibiting what, to his more bellicose contemporaries, seemed an unduly pacifistic point of view; even in the caucus his friends had been compelled to defend him against such charges. A specific action which found frequent mention was his support of the McClure Resolution, requesting the President to warn Americans

against traveling on armed belligerent merchantmen.

Gillett's victory left Mann considerable consolation, however, for a successful maneuver in the same caucus which defeated him for the speakership allowed him to control Republican committee appointments, of great significance in the formulation of party policy and a victory for the conservative point of view which he represented. In March, 1919, he was chosen majority floor leader, an honor which he declined in favor of Frank W. Mondell of Wyoming. During the remainder of his career he took no committee posts but occupied a sort of roving assignment in which his experience and ability served the party majority well as in an earlier day.

When death terminated Mann's long career on November 30, 1922, the *Chicago Tribune* referred to him as "the best informed man on the details of government that ever sat in the halls of Congress," and spoke of his "absolute independence and knowledge of legislation, pending and past." Somewhat earlier he himself had boasted, modestly enough, that he had "drafted more bills which have become laws than any other member of the House, and probably I have drafted more amendments to bills, which were adopted, than any other member of the House." These statements cover the bare bones of a distinguished career. Only by turning dusty pages, however, as the writer has done, can be captured the drive, the pugnacity, the stubbornness, and withal the sheer ability with which James R. Mann enlivened and forwarded the legislative process. A terror to his opponents, not always a pure delight to those on his own side, his was always a force to be reckoned with in arriving at the sum total of positive accomplishment.

THE PIONEERS OF MONMOUTH COLLEGE

BY F. GARVIN DAVENPORT

IN the history of American culture the small liberal arts college has been one of the most productive social institutions. In 1950 it was estimated that more than half of all collegiate students were attending institutions which normally enrolled less than 1,500 students. A few of the colleges showed little change in enrollment during the first half of the twentieth century, while others recorded a steady growth and still others were temporarily overgrown while education-hungry veterans of World War II overtaxed the normal capacity of classrooms and dormitories. Many of the colleges were located in the Midwest, where they had been a part of the expanding social and economic pattern since frontier days. Among the institutions that had already given a hundred years or more of service at mid-twentieth century were Kenyon, Oberlin, Illinois, McKendree, Shurtleff, Muskingum, Knox, Wittenberg, Beloit, Rockford, Lawrence, Grinnell, and Illinois Wesleyan.

Another important group of Midwest colleges was approaching the centennial milepost as the 1950 census was

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taken. In this group were Antioch, Milwaukee-Downer, Cornell, Eureka, Wheaton, Lake Forest, and Monmouth. All of these schools were founded by religious organizations and most of them have continued to be church-related ever since. The history of higher education in the early Midwest was primarily the history of denominational academies and colleges, and for many years the church schools were more influential than the state institutions. In Illinois, for example, a movement was started in 1834 to establish a state university but the chartering of the institution was delayed for a quarter of a century. The main reason for the delay was the growing influence of denominational colleges throughout the state. In these years the legislature was convinced that the people still preferred church schools to state schools and they were practical enough not to gamble state funds on a premature university. The legislators were well aware of the fact that many people clung to the deep-rooted tradition that state education was immoral if not actually dominated by the devil.¹

Generally speaking the Presbyterians were more influential in education in the early Midwest than the other denominations. This was not due to their numbers, as the Methodists lead the field numerically; and it was certainly not due to unity, as no denomination suffered more from schisms than the Presbyterians. One reason for their influence was the fact that so frequently they were first on the scene, constituting the "cutting edge" of the frontier. This was particularly true of the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians, including members of the Reformed Presbyterian and the Associate Presbyterian churches. Another reason for their importance in the history of education was the fact that Presbyterians insisted on an educated min-

¹ The following studies are helpful in an understanding of education in the early West: Donald D. Tewksbury, *The Founding of American Colleges and Universities Before the Civil War with Particular Reference to the Religious Influences Bearing Upon the College Movement* (New York, 1932); William W. Sweet, *Religion on the American Frontier*, 4 vols. (New York and Chicago, 1931-1946).

istry.² This was the basic factor that caused the leaders of the Illinois Associate Reformed Presbyterian Church to start the movement that resulted in the establishment of Monmouth Academy in 1853.³

Frequently the founding of a college is viewed as a local phenomenon, isolated in time and space. When regarded with the perspective of the historian, the establishment of Monmouth College takes on greater significance because it is recognized as an important part of a large pattern, a vital segment of a movement that was national in scope. There was a close relationship between the history of American colleges and the history of the westward movement and Monmouth was no exception. There was also a close relationship between the establishment of Protestant colleges and the interdenominational struggle for supremacy among Protestant churches which at times became vituperative if not actually violent. On the other hand all Protestant groups gave at least lip-service to the anti-Catholic crusade that was pressed into high gear in the Midwest during the decades before the Civil War. No doubt the spread of Protestant colleges was in part a reply to the appearance of Catholic schools in the Midwest. Thus there were patterns within patterns, movements within movements, and Monmouth was directly or indirectly concerned with several of them.⁴

The local history of Monmouth College began in 1829 when the first Associate Reformed Presbyterians arrived in Warren and Henderson counties. In the spring of that year David Findley of Clark County, Indiana, with his two sons, David and John, and a son-in-law, William R. Jamieson, set-

² W. E. McCulloch, *The United Presbyterian Church and Its Work in America* (Pittsburgh, 1925), 154-57.

³ Minutes of the Second Associate Reformed Presbytery, Oct. 11, 1852 (MS in Monmouth College Library); *The Monmouth Collegian*, June 16, 1881.

⁴ Typical attitudes of Associate Reformed Presbyterians toward Catholics, Catholic schools, Methodists, slavery, etc. were expressed by Alexander Blaikie in his diary of a missionary trip through Illinois in 1835. Typed copy in Monmouth College Library.

tled on the banks of South Henderson Creek. Jamieson was the outstanding personality in the family group and the rustic frontier station became known as Jamieson Settlement. These men were the trail blazers of the Associate Reformed Church in Illinois and two or three years later a continuous tide of immigration began to pour into western Illinois from Associate Reformed strongholds in Ohio, Indiana, Kentucky, and the Carolinas. These men and women were not only sturdy pioneers but intelligent citizens "firmly believing in an educated ministry and devoted to their church and their God."⁵

By 1850 strong congregations had been developed at South Henderson, Cedar Creek and Monmouth, and two unusual leaders had appeared in James C. Porter, pastor of the Cedar Creek church, and Robert Ross, pastor of the South Henderson congregation. Ross and Porter were men of vision. They seemed to realize more fully than the majority of their contemporaries what the future held in store for the Midwest once its great natural resources were fully developed and the vast reaches of its rich land completely occupied by millions of energetic people. They realized that in this work of expansion and development the church and the school would play important roles, and they visualized an educational institution on a higher plane than the ineffective grammar schools of the day. This institution should be established on the rich prairies of western Illinois and grow as the country grew, develop as the Associate Reformed Church developed. It would be a moral, educational, and cultural asset to the entire region.

The dream began to take shape in 1852. The two men talked of their plans to members of their congregations, they spread ideas about an academy in one of the villages, they interested the people in the advantages of higher education. The first definite action was taken at a meeting of the Second Presbytery of the Associate Reformed Church of Illinois held at

⁵ F. O. Ross, "History of Monmouth College," *The Annex*, Jan. 18, 1890.

South Henderson, October 11, 1852. Ross and Porter with the able support of W. R. Erskine, presented their ideas to the assembled pastors who expressed their interest in the following resolution:

Whereas the demand of the church for an increase of the ministry is urgent, especially in our Western field and whereas facilities for obtaining an education in a neighborhood is one of the means for meeting this demand and whereas it is the duty of the church to see to the education of her children and whereas it has been recommended by the higher judicatures of our church that the respective presbyteries should establish Grammar Schools in their respective bounds, Therefore Resolved

That this Presbytery take measures to establish such a school and further Resolved that the Rev. R. Ross, Rev. J. C. Porter and Rev. W. R. Erskine be a committee to report on the subject of establishing such a Presbyterial school in all its parts and that all other members of the Presbytery be requested to communicate to said committee any information they may obtain on the subject.⁶

Supported with official authority, Ross and Porter increased their campaigning for the school but it seems evident that they wanted an institution above the rank of grammar school. They were supported in this view by James G. Madden, a prominent Monmouth lawyer, who insisted that the new institution should be on the college level and that it should be established in Monmouth. Porter favored Monmouth, too, but he warned Madden that there would be sharp competition from other towns, especially Sparta in southern Illinois and Oquawka, at that time a lively river port. Consequently, during the winter of 1852-1853, Porter and Madden talked to the people of Monmouth on every opportunity about the possibilities of making the town an educational center. By spring considerable progress had been made and many of the leading business and professional men favored the establishment of a church-controlled academy or even a college. Their interest in a church school was increased by the recent failure of a pri-

⁶ Minutes of the Second Associate Reformed Presbytery, South Henderson, Oct. 11, 1852 (MS in Monmouth College Library).

vately controlled academy and dissatisfaction with the inefficient grammar schools.⁷

On April 12, 1853, their sincerity was put to the test. On that day Porter stopped in Monmouth on his way to the Presbytery meeting at Clayton and told Madden and a number of his friends (who were in court at the time) that the question of establishing an academy would highlight the agenda. He also suggested that if the citizens of Monmouth wanted the school in their city it would be wise if they gave him official power to act in their behalf. Madden, with a dramatic flourish, seized a sheet of paper, stepped up to the bar of the courtroom and wrote out the heading of a subscription paper. Then, after subscribing \$100 himself, he quietly passed the paper around the courtroom and within thirty minutes this small group of lawyers, farmers, and businessmen had promised to donate \$1,150 to help establish a Presbyterian academy in their city.⁸ The document was turned over to Porter and he proceeded on his journey to Clayton and the Presbytery meeting.

At Clayton, just as Porter had anticipated, there was considerable pressure brought upon the group to have the new school located in Sparta or Oquawka. But Monmouth had several advantages in location, transportation facilities, especially the new Burlington railroad, and physical and moral attractiveness. It was also located in one of the most promising agricultural areas of the Midwest. The fact that it was not a river town, like Oquawka, was in its favor—river towns were notoriously boisterous and therefore undesirable as seats of learning. However, in the final analysis, it was the fact that Monmouth had offered to help pay for the new school that turned the votes toward the Warren county seat. Porter

⁷ *The Monmouth Atlas*, Oct. 1, 1896; Luther L. Robinson, ed., *Historical and Biographical Record of Monmouth and Warren County* (Chicago, 1927), I: 139.

⁸ Dated April 12, 1853, this subscription paper was the first entry in the Minutes of the Board of Trustees of the new school.

played the game well at Clayton, holding back his subscription list until the other delegates had made their speeches. When he read the subscription paper and the amounts after each name he knew that he had the best argument of all. Were not many of these men descendants of thrifty Scotsmen? Thus it was that April 18, 1853 became Founders' Day for Monmouth College.⁹

At the Clayton meeting of Presbytery a committee of eleven was chosen to guide the destinies of the new academy. This group, soon to be known as the Board of Trustees, included the Rev. James C. Porter, the Rev. W. R. Erskine, the Rev. Robert Ross, Dr. John A. Young, J. C. McCreary, W. R. Jamieson, E. C. Babcock, Abner C. Harding, James Thompson, N. A. Rankin and James G. Madden. This was a notable group of men. They had a deep and sincere interest in the enterprise and their energy, generosity, and indefatigable devotion to the cause of education accounts for the initial success of the academy in the face of obstacles of every conceivable character. Only a few days passed after the Clayton meeting before the board held its first meeting in Monmouth on May 9, 1853. J. C. Porter was elected president of the board and James Thompson was chosen secretary and treasurer. A building committee was named, a special committee was organized to select a principal for the academy, and each member of the board was constituted a committee of one to solicit subscriptions and raise funds to meet the expenses of the school. By June 30 more than \$2,000 had been subscribed by local citizens, and the board borrowed \$700 in gold secured by the personal notes of James Madden and Judge Ivory Quinby. The latter was an outstanding lawyer in western Illinois during the 1850's.¹⁰

⁹ Minutes of the Second Associate Reformed Presbytery, Clayton, Ill., April 18, 1853 (copy in Monmouth College Library); see also Samuel Miller to James Woodburn, Clayton, Ill., April 20, 1853 (Monmouth College Library).

¹⁰ James Martin to James Woodburn, Monmouth, Ill., June 30, 1853; *The Annex*, Feb. 1, 1890; *Monmouth Atlas*, Oct. 1, 1896.

After some delay the new academy opened on the first Monday of November, 1853, with the Rev. James R. Brown, a graduate of Miami University, as principal, and Maria Madden, a sister of James Madden, as assistant principal. Brown was promised a yearly salary of \$800, but since most of the money that was being raised was earmarked for the building fund, members of the board told him privately that they "did not know where the money was to come from to pay him." Shortly after school opened Brown developed a severe case of the shakes (ague) and for some time was too ill to care whether he was paid or not. He became so exhausted from the illness that he asked for a leave of absence and spent most of the school year with friends in Iowa. Matthew M. Bigger was acting principal during Brown's absence. Much improved in health, Brown returned to Monmouth in the fall of 1854 and directed the academy until it was elevated to collegiate level in 1856. His brother, William Brown, was his chief assistant, for Maria Madden had resigned in the spring of 1854.¹¹

The main problems confronting the board of Monmouth Academy from 1853 to 1856 were money, equipment, and housing. Of the three housing was the most critical. During the first three years of its existence the school moved from pillar to post. The first classroom of the institution that was to become the beautiful Monmouth College of today was in a dingy frame building that stood on the corner of North Second Street and East Archer Avenue. On Sundays this building was used by the Christian Church as a place of worship.¹²

There is no reliable record extant to indicate the number of students who attended the first session of the academy. Estimates range from twenty to one hundred, and since the academy temporarily absorbed Maria Madden's select school together with the greater number of students from the W. B.

¹¹ *The Annex*, Feb. 1, 1890.

¹² *Monmouth Atlas*, Jan. 13, 1854.

Jenks private school, the enrollment probably approached one hundred. Because so many of these were young children it was necessary to establish a primary department. The tuition in this department was \$4.00 per session in advance. The more mature students could choose between the classical department and the English department. The former cost the student \$8.00 per session in advance while the course devoted to English literature was two dollars cheaper.

The school's equipment was primitive. The room was equipped for church services and only poorly furnished for that function. The lighting was inadequate and heat in winter uncertain. There were no partitions to separate the several classes. To provide desks, wide boards were hinged to the back of the rather unsteady pews. The boards were supported by wooden braces which could be folded back out of the way when the building was being used for religious devotions. To make some distinction between the higher and lower divisions of the school, a large calico curtain was hung by small brass rings to a cord stretched across the room from side to side. When school was not in session the calico could be easily drawn back like a stage curtain, making the entire room available for all school programs or for the meeting of the Christian Church congregation.¹³

In the fall of 1854 the academy moved to the basement of the Presbyterian church on South Main Street. The new location was furnished with a better type of desk but otherwise it had few advantages over the Christian Church. Apparently the basement was the soundest part of the building as the superstructure was anything but stable. According to James Madden the church was leaning at a sharp angle and it was necessary "to get a big pole and prop it up to keep it from falling down."¹⁴ But apparently the old church was not as

¹³ The Rev. Martin Morrison and F. O. Ross wrote several valuable articles on the academy for *The Annex*, Jan. 18, Feb. 1, 1890.

¹⁴ *Monmouth Atlas*, Oct. 1, 1896.

structurally anemic as it appeared. Not only did it hold together during the two years it was occupied by the academy, but with remodeling, face lifting, and the addition of numerous poles it served as a local opera house for many a long year.

In the history of higher education in the Midwest the academy was a tentative proposition, a trial balloon used to test the cultural needs and aspirations of the community. If it failed no serious loss would be incurred. If it showed definite signs of success then the investment could be increased, the curriculum expanded, and the institution raised to the collegiate level. The Monmouth Presbyterian academy, according to its promoters and its board of trustees, was destined for a long and fruitful career. After the first year, as the school grew with the growing town, efforts were increased to transform it into a college. In 1856 the state legislature was petitioned for a collegiate charter and Dr. David A. Wallace was elected president of the college. The Rev. Marion Morrison of Tranquillity, Ohio, was selected to occupy the chair of mathematics and natural science, and James R. Brown was promoted to a professorship of ancient languages.

Meanwhile the building committee was carrying out instructions to provide permanent housing for the growing institution. Their task was made easier by the donation of a lot on what is now North A Street by Abner Clark Harding, pioneer builder of the Burlington railroad, who became one of the college's greatest benefactors. Plans for a substantial brick building were drawn up, the contract was let, and the structure was scheduled for completion early in August, 1856. Announcements were made that the first session of the college would begin in the new building on September 1.

As it turned out the announcements were somewhat premature, and represented the exuberant optimism of the board. On September 1, much to the dismay of everyone concerned, the college building was still without a roof. Under the

circumstances, postponement of the opening would have been accepted as inevitable but the pioneers of Monmouth College were not ordinary men and they were determined that the college was to begin on schedule even if classes had to be held on benches in the public square. Fortunately it was not necessary to adopt this rather bizarre expedient, although the alternative was not much better. The board rented a little schoolhouse built of hand-hewn timbers that stood on the present site of the Monmouth Y. M. C. A. Here in this humble, rustic, one-room building, on September 3, 1856, Monmouth Academy became Monmouth College, consecrated by prayer, a song, and the faith of the founders.

The college occupied the little schoolhouse for five or six weeks before the new building on North A Street was ready for use. During this time the number of students increased from twenty-one to fifty,¹⁵ a number which overtaxed the capacity of a building which had never been intended for the cradle of a college. The faculty consisted of Professors Brown and Morrison, as President Wallace had not arrived from Boston and he was not expected until some time in October. No efforts were made to organize regular classes although assignments were made and sporadic recitations were heard. On Friday night of the first week of the first term twelve young men called a special meeting in this makeshift college building and organized the first of the famous literary societies.¹⁶ It was called the Erodelphian Society. A few weeks later it took the name long familiar to all Monmouth alumni, Philadelphian. Daniel Harris was the first president of this society, and the term of office was only four weeks. Harris had attended Washington College in Iowa during the preceding year which made him the first transfer student in Monmouth's history.

¹⁵ The figures are approximate.

¹⁶ For an interesting article on the literary societies see Loren P. Beth, "Monmouth Literary Societies," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, XLIII (Summer, 1950), 120-36.

So the little old one-room schoolhouse was to have some hallowed associations for the first collegiate class and for Brown and Morrison, too. Although the days were hectic and uncertain, there was a realization that this unpretentious schoolhouse, more than any other building, was the real birth-place of the college. At the time students and professors felt "much as a swarm of bees feel when they have gone from the old hive and find that they have no queen."¹⁷ But later they realized that they had developed certain sentimental attachments for the old school, and Morrison in particular, carefully watched the building as it was moved from lot to lot all over town to make way for more pretentious structures.

In October, 1856 the new building was ready for occupancy and at the same time David Wallace arrived from Boston and began his duties as president of the college. When faculty and students moved into their new home they scarcely dreamed that within a few years they would be asking for additional rooms in which to conduct the classes and carry on the business of the institution. The first college hall was a solid brick structure, 40 by 80 feet and two stories high. It contained a chapel seating 300 persons and there were eight well-lighted classrooms. Heat was furnished by stoves and fireplaces and a flaw in one of these caused a small fire in the building several years later. The original plans called for a belfry. In general the first building erected for the college was very plain, reflecting the architectural influence of colonial New England. Had it been ornamented with a graceful spire it would have closely resembled the rural Congregational churches so familiar to eighteenth century Massachusetts and Connecticut.

Perhaps the same thought flashed through the mind of President Wallace on that day in October, 1856, when he first looked upon the building. Certainly, there was little else

¹⁷ *The Annex*, April 18, 1890.

in the town that reminded him of New England. The straggling town, surrounded by the prairie and extensive groves of trees, presented a sharp contrast to cultured Boston and the trim Massachusetts villages where he had lived and worked for six years before accepting the presidency of the young college in western Illinois.

Monmouth was a city in name only and it had many features that were reminiscent of the frontier. The streets were muddy lanes or dusty trails according to the season. Sidewalks were few and far between and street lighting was only a dream in the fertile brains of a few progressive citizens. Cows roamed at will over the yards and prairie chickens were often observed flying over the public square. But there was a brand new telegraph line and the iron horse was making the stage coach a museum piece. Then, too, there was the embryonic college, with its hopes, its desires, and its ambitions. All it needed, according to its friends, was money and inspired leadership. David Wallace gave generously of his time, energy, and ability, and there were many who said that his inspirational leadership was contagious.

David Alexander Wallace was born near Fairview, Guernsey County, Ohio, June 16, 1826, the son of John and Jane McClenahan Wallace. His parents and grandparents were of Scotch-Irish ancestry, hardy men and women who upheld the Scotch-Irish tradition of piety, tenacity, education, and leadership. The Scotch-Irish immigrants of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were usually in the vanguard of the advancing frontier, carrying their militant Presbyterianism and their insistence on an educated ministry into the early West. The Wallaces and the McClenahans were no exceptions, and before the War of 1812 they were giving their support to the kirk and the school in the Pennsylvania settlements and before long they were pushing westward with plow and ax and Bible into the virgin land of eastern Ohio. David Wallace in his

own time and for his own generation was to be a pioneer of education in western Illinois.

The future president of Monmouth College began his education in the winter of 1830-31. He was only four years old, but already he exhibited that urge to learn that was to characterize his entire life. The snow lay deep in eastern Ohio that winter, too deep for the short legs of a boy of four, but he was so infatuated with school that his uncles took pity on him and carried him piggy-back through the drifts so that he would not miss his lessons. He learned rapidly and when he was twelve he matriculated at Madison College, Antrim, Ohio. He made a good record at this school but the cost of college education began to strain the family budget and young David found it necessary to teach school for several years before continuing his advanced studies. In 1844 he entered the junior class at Miami University, Oxford, Ohio, where he became popular with faculty and students. Here he met Marion Morrison who, twelve years later, became the first professor of mathematics at Monmouth College.

Wallace made an excellent academic record at Miami and in August, 1846, graduated at the head of his class. The fact that he was elected president of Muskingum College before he received his diploma from Miami would indicate that he was considered a promising young man. He stayed at Muskingum until 1849, when he resigned to accept an administrative post in the public school system of Wheeling, West Virginia. However, the desire to enter the ministry was becoming too strong to be denied, and after private study and several courses in theology in Associate Reformed Presbyterian seminaries at Oxford, Ohio, and Allegheny, Pennsylvania, he was ordained by the Associate Reformed Presbytery of New York in 1851. Two other momentous events took place in this year. He was appointed pastor of the Associate Reformed Presbyterian Church at Fall River, Massachusetts, and he married

Martha J. Findley of New Concord, Ohio. Henceforth, Martha Wallace was one of the main sources of inspiration for his work.

The young couple entered upon their duties at Fall River with all the enthusiasm of determined youth. The pastorate was anything but a sinecure. David Wallace had accepted the position because it offered a challenge to his ability as a preacher. He found the congregation disorganized, discouraged, and burdened with debt; but within a year he brought order out of chaos mainly by the sweat of his brow and the sincerity of his teaching. In the beginning the congregation was as undeveloped as a missionary outpost. He went from house to house preaching, lecturing, holding prayer meetings and giving wise counsel on matters religious, social, and economic. By 1854 the Fall River Church was firmly established and his presbytery placed him in charge of a new congregation in East Boston. Once again he found himself in a missionary environment, and again he began the slow, arduous task of molding a church from grass roots and human souls. The pastorates at Fall River and East Boston offered Wallace many opportunities in church and youth leadership and in social and financial administration. In these congregations he tested his philosophy of life, sharpened his wits, and lost the lingering traces of adolescence that had clung to him as he left the seminary. He learned valuable lessons in humanity, in cooperation, in adaptability, and in sacrifice. These experiences served him well when he took over the responsibility of guiding Monmouth College.¹⁸

¹⁸ There is no adequate biography of Wallace and most of his personal papers have been destroyed. For a brief review of his life see H. F. Wallace, *A Busy Life; A Tribute to the Memory of the Rev. David A. Wallace* (Greeley, Colo., 1885). Additional information can be found in files of the local newspapers, the college papers, and the college yearbooks.

THE POST OFFICE IN ILLINOIS POLITICS OF THE 1850's

BY DON E. FEHRENBACHER

THE United States Post Office was never, from its very beginning, completely shielded from the pressures of partisan influence, but it was Andrew Jackson who consciously shaped it into an instrument for the maintenance of political power. Entering the White House in 1829, Jackson persuaded the overly-scrupulous postmaster general, John McLean, to accept an appointment to the Supreme Court, and then replaced him with William T. Barry of Kentucky, a thorough-going politician who was willing to implement the President's policy of rewarding his friends and chastising his enemies.

The first head of the Post Office to hold cabinet rank, Barry was soon presiding over a program of wholesale removals and appointments which set a pattern for the decades that followed and reached an apex, according to one leading authority, in the administration of James Buchanan.¹ It was the controversial question of slavery in Kansas, with the accompanying defections from the Democratic Party in the North,

¹ Dorothy Ganfield Fowler, *The Cabinet Politician, The Postmasters General, 1829-1909* (New York, 1943), 89-90.

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which brought in the 1850's a more ruthless use of the patronage than ever before. And since Stephen A. Douglas was at the center of the Kansas storm, it is not surprising that the state of Illinois should present a striking picture of the spoils system in the Post Office, as it operated on the local level.

Although nominally chosen by the president or the postmaster general, the postmasters were by this time actually selected by the members of Congress from each state. The latter, in turn, usually consulted local leaders, and the people of a community often made their wishes felt by drawing up petitions nominating certain men for the coveted positions. Few of the 1,484 offices in Illinois at the end of the 1850's were of significant monetary value. Only twenty-eight paid more than a thousand dollars a year, and three-fourths of them were worth less than one hundred dollars annually.²

Even those appointments yielding the top salary of two thousand dollars were desired less for the money than for the prestige and power that went with the office. The Springfield postmaster, Isaac R. Diller, told Douglas in 1854 that his job was more trouble than it was worth, and that he kept it only because "it gave me a position to help you and your friends."³

In a village or small town, the postmaster was quite often a merchant, station agent, or newspaper editor, who ran the post office as a sideline, in much the same way that drug stores today operate postal sub-stations. In many cases his literacy was minimal, and his sense of responsibility negligible. It was his duty to provide the equipment for the office, and his privilege to choose its location and to fix the hours that it would be open. In 1859, the Mattoon postmaster wrote to Douglas asking his advice in regard to "refitting upp the office & enlarging the same." He was afraid that he might take such

² *Register of Officers and Agents, Civil, Military, and Naval, in the Service of the United States on the Thirtieth September, 1861* (Washington, 1862), 354-79.

³ Isaac R. Diller to Stephen A. Douglas, Dec. 15, 1854, Stephen A. Douglas Papers, University of Chicago.

a step, only to be removed. "If I thought the Administration would retain me as Post Master," he went on, "I should go to considerable expense in fitting upp a good neat & substancial office."⁴

Occasionally the postmaster confused his ownership of the property with the ownership of the office. At Decatur, Postmaster Philip B. Shepherd was also editor and publisher of the *Decatur Magnet*, and his assistant on the paper was one John Ryan. In 1859, Shepherd entered into an agreement with his assistant's son, Matthew Ryan, whereby he turned over the post office equipment, resigned his position, and secured the appointment of the elder Ryan in his place, all for the sum of five hundred dollars. When all of this had been accomplished, the Ryans defaulted on their part of the bargain, and Shepherd brought the entire affair out into the open by instituting a suit against Matthew Ryan in the Circuit Court at Decatur.⁵ And in 1856, F. C. Wing of Collinsville reported to Trumbull that the incumbent postmaster had "sold his property in the place and made over, it is believed, so far as it lay in his power, the good will so to speak, of the post office."⁶

That the part-time nature of the postmastership in smaller communities was often a source of annoyance for the public is suggested by this complaint from Wenona:

There is a very general *dissatisfaction* with Mr. Van Allen the PM at this place, because he is disobliging & frequently neglects or refuses to let subscribers have their papers, or letters, after coming some distance from the country. The office is in the Passengerhouse, a very unsuitable place and as he is the Station Agent the business of the R. R. Company must be *first* attended to all the time, while those having business at the P. O. must

⁴ D. J. Connely to Douglas, Feb. 14, 1859, *ibid.* Daniel Wadsworth, postmaster at Auburn, Ill., in a letter to Representative Abraham Lincoln, Jan. 25, 1848, said that his compensation should be increased because he had to "get up twice every night or fourteen times a week" to receive mail deliveries and the total didn't amount to any more than when there had been only six deliveries a week. National Archives, Records of the House of Representatives, 30th Congress.

⁵ *Decatur Gazette*, quoted in the *Chicago Daily Press and Tribune*, Nov. 24, 1859; *Bloomington Pantagraph*, Dec. 6, 1859.

⁶ F. C. Wing to Lyman Trumbull, Feb. 8, 1856, Lyman Trumbull Papers, Library of Congress.

wait often a long time before he is ready to serve them. I myself have gone to the office often & had to wait an hour or more.⁷

Equally productive of friction was the postmaster's power to locate the office wherever he chose. At Sterling, in strongly Republican Whiteside County, the Democratic postmaster in 1858 moved the office from the center to the western edge of town. When their protests went unheeded, the citizens finally hired a deputy postmaster to get the mail at the new office and distribute it at the old.⁸ The location of the post office was also a political touchstone at Decatur in 1860, with an "Old Square" faction resisting a "New Square" group which was made up largely of administration Democrats.⁹

Most disconcerting of all, however, was the use of the post office as a weapon in political contests. The postmaster was often the leader for the administration in his locality, and he used his position openly to advance the cause of his party. Through the mails there came regularly from Washington bags of those public documents which members of Congress franked to avid readers among their constituents. Documents supporting the administration were often addressed simply to the postmaster, it being his duty to circulate them in whatever fashion would do the most good.

"Every Postmaster in the country," commented the *Chicago Democratic-Press*, "from the incumbent of a metropolitan office to the overseer of a single weekly mail-bag in the remotest 'rural district,' is thus made an active agent of the party, to the detriment if not the entire disregard of the public service."¹⁰

Toward opposition documents, of course, the postmaster's attitude was likely to be not solicitude but studied carelessness. The Chicago Post Office, distribution center for mail

⁷ W. L. Walker to Joseph Chandler, Feb. 21, 1859, Douglas Papers.

⁸ *Chicago Daily Democratic-Press*, Feb. 9, 1858.

⁹ F. Priest to Douglas, Jan. 26, 1860, Douglas Papers.

¹⁰ *Democratic-Press*, Aug. 18, 1856.

going west, was regularly accused of "detaining" documents opposed to the administration.¹¹ When Douglas broke with Buchanan in 1858, the full power of the postal system was turned against him, as the following letter demonstrates:

I wish to warn you of a practice inaugurated by the Chicago P.M. in reference to *your* documents, which pass thro' his office. They are generally laid aside for a "convenient season," to await distribution, and when the throwers do distribute they handle them so roughly that many packages are broken open, and consequently lost, as many of them are directed to one person or to one office on the outside, while the remainder of the package merely contain the address of the persons and *not* the post office. . . . The above information comes to me thro' the route agents.¹²

With Douglas' onetime friend Ike Cook in charge, the Chicago office intercepted not only his documents, but also his personal mail. Some persons writing to Douglas addressed their letters to his wife or to friends in Washington, in the hope of circumventing this interference.¹³

It was in his control over newspapers that the postmaster wielded the greatest political power. Most of the journals of Illinois in the 1850's were weeklies, and they depended for their very existence upon a benevolent postal system. Early in the decade, Congress passed several acts which amounted to a federal subsidy of newspaper circulation. Most important of these was a bill which became law in March, 1851 and which provided for free delivery of weekly papers within the county of publication.¹⁴

As in the case of government documents, however, the local postmaster was likely to be much more diligent in delivering those papers which supported his party than in handling

¹¹ *Ibid.*, Oct. 24, 1856; H. Kreismann to Trumbull, Aug. 9, 1856, Trumbull Papers.

¹² George W. Gray to Douglas, May 26, 1858, Douglas Papers.

¹³ J. P. Heiss to Douglas, July 15, 23, 1858; James Spencer to Douglas, July 15, 1858; O. J. Wise to Douglas, Sept. 27, 1858, *ibid.*

¹⁴ *Postage Rates, 1789-1930, Abstract of Laws Passed Between 1789 and 1930 Fixing Rates of Postage and According Free Mail Privileges* (United States Post Office Department, n. d.), 38, 40; Ross Allan McReynolds, "History of the United States Post Office, 1607-1931" (Ph. D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1935), 185-86.

those which spoke for the opposition. Until 1854, the selection of postmasters in northern Illinois, outside of Chicago, had been largely the prerogative of Congressman John Wentworth, who made use of his authority to advance the sales of his *Chicago Democrat*.¹⁵ The situation was described by a rival editor as follows:

Mr. Wentworth has had the appointing of Postmasters hereabouts for a great many years, and he has uniformly used the power so as to increase the circulation of his paper. No man could be Postmaster in his bailiwick who would not perform the drudgery of an active agency for the *Chicago Democrat*, or who would use any exertion to secure subscribers for another Chicago paper.¹⁶

In addition to acting as a salesman for the organs of his party, the postmaster was in an admirable position to discourage the circulation of opposition papers, which could be lost, misdelivered, or delayed until they were stale. The Springfield postmaster was accused of going one step further and cancelling subscriptions to papers that he did not like, without consulting the subscribers.¹⁷

The possible influence of the post office upon newspaper circulation is suggested in a letter written by a citizen of Kankakee to the postmaster general in 1858. Wishing to praise his local postmaster, he spoke not of efficient mail deliveries, but of the fact that "the circulation of *Dem.* papers has been increased more than ten fold within the last eighteen months. While in the same time the repub newspapers have fell off more than one hundred percent. This change, in a great measure, has been brought about by the enterprising perseverance of our P. M."¹⁸ The nature of the "enterprising perseverance" is not indicated, but can be conjectured.

¹⁵ *Chicago Daily Journal*, April 13, 1854; *Aurora Beacon*, Sept. 28, 1855. The latter citation was taken from the collection of source materials at the University of Illinois gathered by Arthur Charles Cole, hereafter cited as "Cole's Notes."

¹⁶ *Democratic-Press*, Sept. 15, 1854.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, Oct. 5, 1854.

¹⁸ Enclosed in letter of Truman Huling to Douglas, May 14, 1858, Douglas Papers. For newspaper complaints about postal service see *Weekly Chicago Democrat*, Sept. 16, 1854; *Chicago Daily Herald*, March 17, 1859; *Canton Weekly Register*, July 3, 1860, "Cole's Notes."

Thus the post office, used in a partisan fashion, could exercise considerable control over the fortunes of the press. "There is no class in the community so completely at the mercy of government as newspaper publishers," said the *Chicago Democratic-Press*. "The Post Office Department, if it sets itself against any newspaper establishment, has in its power the means of crippling it very seriously, if not entirely *breaking it down*."¹⁹

It was this admitted relationship between control of the post office and the welfare of a newspaper that made the *Chicago Tribune* so anxious to acquire the postmastership for one of its editors in 1861. "We want the office not wholly for the money there is in it, but as a means of extending and insuring our business and extending the influence of the *Tribune*," Charles Ray, one of the editors, wrote to Senator Lyman Trumbull after Lincoln's election.²⁰ "If Mr. Scripps had it the country Post Masters of the Northwest would work to extend our circulation," added Joseph Medill a week later.²¹

It was nothing new, however, when John Locke Scripps, senior *Tribune* editor, became Chicago's new postmaster in 1861. This writer has counted more than fifty Illinoisans who were simultaneously postmasters and editors or publishers in the years 1854 to 1861.²² Doubtless there were also numerous cases of close relationships—personal, blood, or by marriage—between the two positions.

In addition to its day-to-day functions as part of the political machinery, the post office in emergencies could be used to impose some semblance of discipline upon the party in power. The two important occasions upon which the whip

¹⁹ *Democratic-Press*, May 25, 1855.

²⁰ Charles H. Ray to Trumbull, Feb. 25, 1861, Trumbull Papers.

²¹ Joseph Medill to Trumbull, March 4, 1861, *ibid*.

²² The list of postmasters in the *Register of Officers and Agents* for 1855, 1857, 1859, and 1861 was compared with the listing of editors and publishers in Franklin William Scott, *Newspapers and Periodicals of Illinois, 1814-1879*, *Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library*, vol. VI (Springfield, Ill., 1910).

was cracked from Washington were in 1854 and 1858. The issue in both cases was Kansas. During the first struggle, Douglas wielded the whip; during the second, he felt its lash. His insistence in 1854 that the Kansas-Nebraska bill be considered a test of party loyalty resulted in heavy defections among postmasters in the northern part of the state. The punishment for their heresy was dismissal. "Senator Douglas is taking off the heads of all the postmasters in the northern part of the State who are not Nebraska men," reported the *Illinois State Journal*.²³ It was a tedious process requiring several years to accomplish, but gradually the postmasters turned Republican were weeded out, sometimes as a result of petitions from local Democrats.²⁴

This first purge had not yet been completed when another was superimposed upon it. Douglas' outright defiance of the President upon the Lecompton issue brought on a veritable reign of terror among Illinois postal officials. "Old Buck has got the guillotine well greased and in full swing," said the *Chicago Democrat*. "From now till election we may expect to hear of Douglas' postmasters' heads falling into the basket as fast as the old machine can be made to work."²⁵

As his chief hatchet-men against pro-Douglas officials in Illinois, Buchanan chose Isaac Cook and Charles Leib. Cook, a Chicago saloonkeeper and political boss, had been one of Douglas' closest friends until a quarrel over control of the *Chicago Times* had made them bitter enemies. He had served a term as Chicago's postmaster, but unsatisfactorily, since he had been unable to account for all the funds. Leib's past was equally questionable and infinitely more varied. Doctor, lawyer, liquor dealer, petty official, he was a political chameleon who had ridden with Jim Lane's Free-State army in Kan-

²³ *Illinois State Journal*, Sept. 16, 1854.

²⁴ A. M. Herrington to Douglas, Dec. 18, 1857; T. C. Wetmore to Douglas, Feb. 27, 1856; D. Hoffbine to Douglas, March 4, 1856, Douglas Papers.

²⁵ *Chicago Democrat*, Oct. 9, 1858.

sas, edited a Democratic campaign paper in 1856, and become leader of the Buchanan forces in Illinois by 1858.²⁶

While hardly of the highest quality, these men were perhaps the best that could be found, for administration supporters were scarce in Illinois in 1858. Cook was now restored to his old position as postmaster in Chicago, while Leib became the President's special mail agent for the state, traveling about ostensibly in a supervisory capacity, but actually to whip Federal employees into line behind the Lecompton Constitution and against Douglas. As the heads began to roll, some postmasters hurried to Washington in the hope of preserving their jobs, while along the same route sped aspirants to their positions.²⁷

Because of a desperate need for newspapers to defend its policies, the administration, through its spokesmen in Illinois, worked strenuously to hold the loyalty of Democratic editors, most of whom leaned toward Douglas. In this struggle for control of the press, federal patronage was used as a threat to editors who were already postmasters, and as a bribe to those who were not.

At Joliet, Postmaster C. Zarley yielded to the pressure and kept his *Joliet Signal* staunchly pro-Buchanan in its editorials,²⁸ while Charles N. Pine, Princeton postmaster and editor of the *Bureau County Democrat*, was rewarded for his faithfulness to the administration by an appointment as United States marshal.²⁹

In Peoria, on the other hand, Postmaster Peter Sweat

²⁶ *Chicago Daily Times*, March 9, 21, 1858; George Gillaspay to Douglas, July 6, 1858, Douglas Papers; Roy Franklin Nichols, *The Disruption of American Democracy* (New York, 1948), 212.

²⁷ A correspondent in Freeport informed Douglas that only one Democrat in the city supported the President, and that he "yesterday started for Washington City to effect a *coup de grace* in relation to the P. O. here." F. W. L. Bradley to Douglas, Dec. 30, 1857, Douglas Papers.

²⁸ *Rock River Democrat*, Dec. 29, 1857, "Cole's Notes."

²⁹ "Having the contrroll of the press and P. office is *all* that gives them [the Buchanan men] in Princeton any influence," complained D. G. Salisbury to Douglas, March 5, 1858, Douglas Papers.

emerged as a cautious supporter of Douglas. Scurrying to Washington in an effort to ward off dismissal, he found that George W. Raney, editor of the *Peoria Democratic-Union*, had arrived there ahead of him. Raney promised to lend editorial support to the administration in exchange for the postmastership, which he received.³⁰

The editor of the *Kankakee Democrat*, W. N. Bristol, also joined the Buchanan forces in the hope of replacing the local postmaster. "We could buy Bristol back again cheap & would do so if we was satisfied he would stay bought," wrote one of his regular Kankakee correspondents to Douglas. Leading anti-administration Democrats in the town, desiring to hold the post office at all costs, advised Postmaster Longfellow to "go down to Springfield and soft soap Cook & Leib." The strategy was apparently successful, for Bristol did not win the appointment, but Longfellow classified himself as a turncoat by his conciliation of the "Buchaneers."³¹

In spite of their hard work and the power behind them, the Buchanan Democrats made a miserable showing in the election of 1858. Their candidates for state offices polled only five thousand votes, or about two per cent of the total cast.³² There can be little doubt that the nucleus of this small group was office-holders, especially postmasters, who were acting for the most part from the hope of monetary gain rather than from principle.

Its use for political purposes, together with generally low standards of delivery service, caused much discontent with the postal system in the 1850's.³³ Post offices, said the *Chicago*

³⁰ *Democratic-Press*, March 13, 1858; Peter Sweat to Douglas, Feb. 8, 1858; C. Ballance to Douglas, Feb. 11, 1858; J. B. Taylor to Douglas, March 20, 1858, Douglas Papers.

³¹ T. Huling to Douglas, April 29, May 31, 1858; J. W. Caldwell to Douglas, May 1, 1858, *ibid*.

³² *Chicago Journal*, Nov. 18, 1858.

³³ *Democratic-Press*, March 21, 1854, Jan. 5, 1855; *Chicago Democrat*, Nov. 17, 1855; *Canton Register*, Feb. 7, 1858, "Cole's Notes."

Democratic-Press, "constitute, in fact, the perpetual bribery fund of those in power," while the franking privilege was "one of the most potent engines in the hands of political knaves to carry out their schemes of villainy, that ever was set in operation at the seat of government."³⁴ There was considerable agitation for making the office of postmaster elective, and some persons urged that all or part of the system be placed in the hands of private enterprise.³⁵

The great expansion of railroads during the 1850's meant an acceleration of mail deliveries, but it also brought a need for more efficient organization and better trained personnel, a need difficult to meet because of the partisan uses to which the postal system was put. "It is a notorious fact and a crying sin," complained the *Chicago Journal* in 1856, "that the post offices are made to subserve party ends to the delay and injury of private business."³⁶

The Republicans were naturally the loudest complainers about Buchanan's use of the Post Office as a political instrument, but upon gaining power in 1861, they rivaled their enemies in the energy with which they wielded the patronage. The cry for reform, stifled by the exigencies of war and reconstruction, resumed with increased vigor during the Grant administration, but the struggle to remove the postal system from its position of subservience to politics was a long and bitter one, and it has not yet ended.

³⁴ *Democratic-Press*, April 19, 1854, Feb. 2, 1856.

³⁵ *Greenville Advocate*, Dec. 30, 1858; *Democratic-Press*, Feb. 2, 1856; *Press and Tribune*, March 25, 1859; *Canton Register*, Feb. 7, 1858, "Cole's Notes"; David Seem to Douglas, May 21, 1860, Douglas Papers.

³⁶ *Chicago Journal*, Nov. 17, 1856.

ILLINOIS' TESTIMONIAL TO MRS. RUTHERFORD B. HAYES

BY GEORGE TRESSLER SCOTT

THE assassination of President James A. Garfield on July 2, 1881 and the period of mourning and uncertainty while he lay between life and death made it unwise at that time to publicize a notable tribute to Mrs. Rutherford B. Hayes by the citizens of Illinois. Thus a unique and significant event took place with practically no fanfare.

Lucy Webb Hayes was known and loved for her devoted care of the wounded on the battlefields of the Civil War, in which her husband served as a general, and she was also acclaimed for prohibiting the serving of alcoholic beverages at White House social functions while she was the First Lady. It was principally because of this latter action that the Illinois group honored her.

There was a great upsurge of agitation for prohibition and woman suffrage after the Civil War. Many temperance societies were consolidated into national bodies, and in Illinois a Prohibition Party was organized in 1868. Then in September, 1869, a convention called in Chicago by the Grand Lodge of Good Templars formed the National Prohibition Party, the

George Tressler Scott of Upper Montclair, New Jersey, is the son of the late Mrs. Samuel Swan Scott of Ottawa, Illinois, who conceived and directed the project about which he writes. The discovery of duplicate "Testimonials," correspondence, and other records of this event among his mother's papers made this article possible. This material has been presented to the Illinois State Historical Library.

first to advocate woman suffrage. The forceful Woman's Temperance Crusade led to the organization of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union in 1874, with branches throughout the nation and many projects, including legislation at all levels and "Scientific Temperance Instruction in Schools and Colleges."

The temperance cause received great encouragement from the practice instituted by Mrs. Hayes of serving only non-intoxicating beverages at the White House. Her departure from the tradition of alcoholic drinks at public functions took a courage rooted deep in its conviction. Although there was a great deal of protest and some newspapers used catchy epithets such as "Lemonade Lucy" in ridiculing her as a hostess, her action was hailed throughout the country. One national group collected small contributions from many individuals and had a beautiful full-length portrait of her painted by the famous Daniel Huntington and hung in the Green Room of the White House.



MRS. SAMUEL SWAN SCOTT

In Illinois, recognition of Mrs. Hayes' exemplary life and leadership took an interesting form, resulting in the presentation of six large, morocco-bound, gilt-edged volumes of autographed parchment sheets and a pair of richly embroidered satin hangings "valued at \$1,200." These are now highly prized possessions of the Hayes Memorial Library in Fremont, Ohio, which is maintained by the state as a memorial.

The idea of this Illinois project originated on September 17, 1880 at a meeting of the Woman's Christian Working Association of the Presbyterian Church in Ottawa, Illinois. The minutes of this meeting read: "On motion by Mrs. Scott 'twas voted that society make a silk album quilt enriched with needlework to present to Mrs. Pres. Hayes—an expression of our approval of the noble, unprecedented position she has taken on the Temperance question as involved in dispensing the hospitality of the White House." The matter was referred to the executive committee of the association, consisting of Mrs. (John?) Manley, Mrs. Hugh Colwell, Mrs. Lee, Mrs. Archibald Armour, Mrs. D. B. Snow, Mrs. R. C. Jordan, with Mrs. Samuel S. Scott¹ as secretary.

On November 17 the minute book shows that the program had developed into something more pretentious: "Testimonial plan Modified and Enlarged—On motion by Mrs. Scott voted that for the album quilt be substituted a *Decorated Hanging* and *Autograph Album*, and it be made a *State* in place of a local or county Testimonial." A few days later a number of men met with the executive committee at the Scott home where "The ladies stated the details of the proposed State Testimonial, and as it would involve much labor, the cooperation of the gentlemen was desired." The gentlemen were willing and the meeting named one person in each county of the state to select a designated number of signers for that county.

The plan continued to widen in scope and it became evident that a broader base than that afforded by Ottawa would

¹ As Anna Tressler, Mrs. Scott came to Illinois from Pennsylvania in 1868 along with her mother, brothers and sisters. One brother, the Rev. Dr. David Loy Tressler was the first president of Carthage College (1873-1880), and two others practiced medicine in the state. Samuel Scott, her husband, was one of seven brothers who arrived in Illinois in the 1850's and established a chain of dry goods stores (Mendota, Amboy, Polo, Ottawa, and Bloomington). Samuel and John owned the Scott Brothers store in Ottawa. In 1891 John joined two older brothers, George and Robert S., in Carson, Pirie, Scott & Co. in Chicago.

In addition to the testimonial for Mrs. Hayes, Mrs. Scott originated the Saturday Industrial School in Ottawa, edited the *Ottawa Cook Book*, developed the Gospel Extension Library and the Circulating Leaflet Packets, and took part in many other constructive projects.

be needed. Mrs. Scott then visited Chicago where, on December 4, 1880, an Advisory Committee was organized "at the residence of Mrs. Jessie Whitehead, Michigan Avenue. Mrs. Judge Caton, Mrs. [Norman] Judd, Mrs. Cyrus McCormick, Mrs. Whitehead & Secretary present; Mesdames [Joseph?] Medill, [John C.?] Black & J. V. Farwell unavoidably detained." Among the many other Chicagoans who gave their personal assistance were Frances E. Willard, Mrs. T. Lyle Dickey, E. B. Washburne, and the Hon. and Mrs. William Henry Smith. Those who contributed generously in cash, services or material included: for the album—Bradner Smith & Co., Donnelley, Gassette and Loyd, and Culver, Payne and Hoyne; and for the hangings—Carson, Pirie, Scott & Co., Charles Gossage & Co., Belding Bros., John V. Farwell, Philip D. Armour and Marshall Field. Embroidery for the hangings was designed and executed by the Society of Decorative Art.

The administrative and manual work was still centered however in the Scott residence in Ottawa, with many volunteers assisting the busy secretary. Thousands of names were received and classified. Each person was to receive the parchment testimonial blank along with a printed covering letter, and to some of them there was a separate request for a "sentiment." This material was slipped into a pasteboard tube with a self-addressed return label. Eight thousand mailing tubes and eighteen thousand labels were purchased. The parchment sheets were nine and a half by eleven inches in size and had spaces for the autograph, address, official position, and profession or business of the recipient. The circular letter was headed "Illinois State Testimonial" and the opening paragraph read, "An Association of Ladies of Illinois propose to present to Mrs. President Hayes a *Satin Hanging and Autograph Album*, as a testimonial of her high moral worth and courage in banishing the wine cup from the White House." The letter went on to explain the project and to invite autographs and, when pos-

sible, official seals. It also stated that the embroidered hanging would be suspended "by rods and rings made of wood taken from the homestead of the late President Lincoln, at Springfield, Ill."

The response to this request was nation-wide, more than 3,000 autographs were returned on some 2,650 parchment pages, along with numerous "sentiments" and official seals, as well as hundreds of favorable letters and postal cards. Many did not respond, however, and in this group were former President and Mrs. Ulysses S. Grant, but their daughter-in-law, Mrs. Frederick Dent Grant, did. General William T. Sherman signed three of the parchments and on a duplicate wrote: "Mrs. Genl. Sherman prefers not to furnish autographs. W. T. S." And Mark Twain replied that he was abstaining from abstinence.

Presentation of the testimonial to Mrs. Hayes was originally planned for February 22 and then postponed to March 3, 1881, her last day in the White House. But the arrangements were not completed before the health of the over-burdened organizing secretary gave way and the event was delayed further. When everything was finally ready the Young Ladies' Temperance Society of Ottawa arranged a preview, called the Hayes Memorial Entertainment, which they presented in the local Illinois National Guard armory on June 10. The satin hangings and the autograph volumes were exhibited, and there was a musical and dramatic program, highlighted by three readings by Professor Samuel Kayser of Chicago. The evening was closed with refreshments and dancing.

Mrs. Hayes had returned to her home in Fremont, Ohio, but plans were not complete for the formal presentation there when President Garfield was shot. This, of course, upset any arrangements that had already been made, and on August 6 the former President wrote to his friend Mrs. William Henry Smith, wife of the Collector of the Port of Chicago: "While

the President is still lying helpless and suffering it seems wise to have no formal exploiting . . . and to have the articles sent to us quietly as soon as may be. Our best room, 37 x 27 is waiting for carpet, furniture, etc., and we ought to first see your curtains in order to match them and go on with our upholstery." Then on August 17 Hayes wrote again:

The curtains and books came to hand in apple pie order. . . . All the gifts are very beautiful. Mrs. Hayes will prize them and keep them with her selected Treasures. . . . The kind friends from whom they came will be welcomed whenever they come to attend to further formalities. Being very informal people we shall not propose or talk of any further demonstration on the subject, but will cheerfully acquiesce in what is desired by the friends. We are now in the greatest anxiety about the President's condition. Of course now is no time for an affair.

Since it was "no time for an affair" the presentation speech, which had been prepared by John V. Farwell of Chicago, was mailed to Mrs. Hayes. In it he praised her

effort to influence public sentiment for the elevation of the moral tone of society—and against the use of intoxicating liquors as a beverage. Illinois, the home of Lincoln, desires to place in your hands a slight token as a perpetual reminder of how her sons and daughters appreciate the character of the nation's matron. Our wish is that . . . your example [be] followed by everyone who would truly represent our country, either in the drawing-room or in legislative or executive halls.

Mrs. Hayes' reply was mailed from Fremont accompanying a letter from the former President:

Mr. Farwell: I beg you, and the ladies of Illinois for whom you speak, to receive my thanks for the beautiful curtain and the very beautiful volumes of autographs which you presented me. I cannot express the happiness it gives me to be assured that our manner of life at the White House has been approved by so many intelligent and earnest people. Certainly the sentiment is gaining strength that the duties of hospitality can be suitably observed without the temptations and dangers arising from the use of intoxicating drinks. While deeply sensitive of how little I deserve these tokens of esteem, I shall always prize and preserve them, and will gratefully remember the kind words with which you conveyed them to me.

The six volumes that contained the autographed parchment sheets, along with their "sentiments" and official seals



TITLE PAGE TO THE SIX VOLUMES OF AUTOGRAPHS

The books were presented to Mrs. Rutherford B. Hayes in 1881 as a tribute to her for prohibiting the serving of alcoholic beverages at the White House during her husband's term as President.

are introduced by a title page bearing India ink sketches representing government, the arts, science and commerce; in the center is a mother and her infant under the legend: "For God and Home and Native Land." The salutation page is decorated with a watercolor sketch and has the inscription:

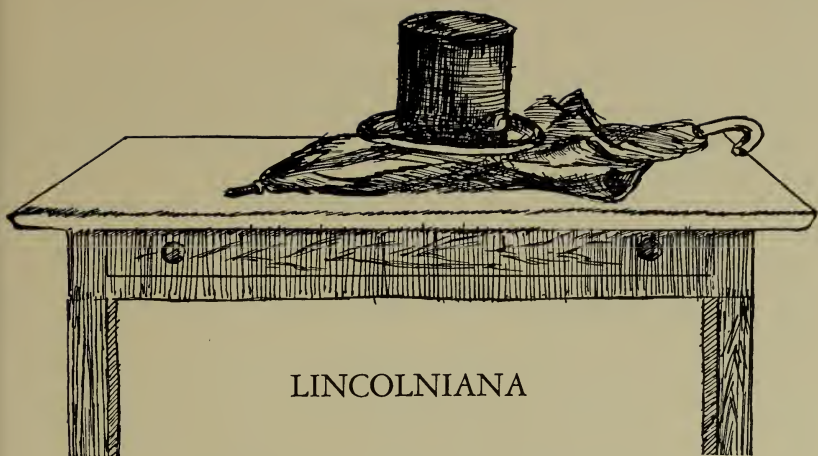
All Honor to Mrs. President Hayes. From the Ladies of Illinois who have admired the courage she has displayed in the administration of the hospitalities of the Executive Mansion. God grant that the influence of this signal and benign example may be felt more and more as age follows age in the life of this Great Republic.

Also there is a long dedicatory poem by Benjamin F. Taylor of Chicago, which is titled "From God's Own Clearing, Illinois sends greetings" and reads in part:

Music and sculpture hand in hand,
The painter with electric wand,
The legions of the Fourth Estate
With poets, hero, meet and mate,
Join with the ermine and the lawn
To pass the royal greeting on
From mountain range to either sea,
With one accord "God Speed" to thee.

Following this are the three thousand autographs divided into thirty-three categories according to the vocations of the signers. Each division is headed by a symbolic pen and ink sketch by H. C. Furman and an introductory "address" or essay by an Illinois leader in that particular field, usually expressing the temperance viewpoint of the group. Photographs of the symbolic sketches, the satin hangings, and President and Mrs. Hayes, were made and sold by W. E. Bowman, Ottawa photographer. An engraving of the title page was presented to contributors and was also sold.

NOTE: Reprints of this article, together with an appendix containing excerpts from a number of the thirty-three introductory essays and the names of a few of the more famous signers, may be had by addressing the Editor of this *Journal*. They will be sent with the compliments of the author.



LINCOLNIANA

THE MELISSA GOINGS MURDER CASE

That Abraham Lincoln was a practical lawyer who was willing to lean toward public sentiment when it disagreed with the strict letter of the law was demonstrated in a Woodford County murder case in which the defendant was a woman. In this course he appears to have had the tacit approval of law enforcing officers.

In Worth Township in the southwesterly part of Woodford County ninety-six years ago lived Roswell Goings, aged seventy-seven, and his wife, Melissa, seventy. The husband was the owner of farmland on which a census enumerator earlier had placed a valuation of \$1,500. He was a native of Virginia.¹

Goings purchased eighty acres in 1839 in that part of Tazewell County which later was cut off to form part of Woodford. In 1843 he purchased an adjoining twenty acres—this was two years after the organization of Woodford County.²

The aged farmer had been ill and was so disabled that he could walk only a little and that with difficulty. He passed most of his waking hours in

¹ *Seventh Census*, U. S., 1850. In addition to the head of the family, the Goings dwelling sheltered Monica[?] Goings, 63, doubtless the wife of Roswell, she was a native of Maryland; Lucy Goings, 19, born in Ohio; Armstrong Goings, 18, born in Virginia; William, 22; Mary, 18; Joseph, 12; Robert, 11; and Louise Flowers, 8, all born in Virginia. Monica may have been another name for Melissa or the name may have been misspelled by the enumerator. Woodford County records fail to show that Roswell Goings was remarried after 1850.

² Jacob G. Loose of Sangamon County sold to Roswell Goings of Tazewell County, Sept. 17, 1839, the W $\frac{1}{2}$, NE $\frac{1}{4}$, Sec. 35, Twp. 27N, R3W, 3 P.M., consideration \$150. Robert and Margaret Evans, Woodford County, sold to Goings, Sept. 30, 1843, 20 acres off the South end of the E $\frac{1}{2}$, NW $\frac{1}{4}$, Sec. 34, same township. Consideration was one bay mare, 8 years old, valued at \$60 (*Deed Record A*, Woodford Co., 168; *Deed Record B*, 372).

a chair. Testimony indicated that he and his wife had lived "rather disagreeably" for some time.³ William Ryan, veteran editor of the *Metamora Herald*, informed the writer that Goings was both quarrelsome and bibulous, according to stories he had heard from pioneer residents.

An argument between Goings and his wife over the opening of a window at their home led to a violent quarrel on April 14, 1857. Although no other person was present some details of the quarrel and its tragic ending were gained from witnesses who appeared at the inquest conducted by Coroner Benjamin Kindig.

It was shown that Mrs. Goings struck her husband with a heavy piece of stovewood, inflicting a head injury from the effects of which he died four days later.⁴ Testimony indicated Goings was choking his wife when she broke away and defended herself with the stovewood.

No mention is made of the arrest of Mrs. Goings but she was "summoned" on a coroner's warrant to appear at a preliminary hearing on April 23 and was held to bail of \$1,000.⁵ Armstrong Goings⁶ and Samuel W. Beck were the defendant's sureties. Mrs. Goings signed the bail bond with her mark. Two justices of the peace, Joseph Morley of Worth Township and Robert T. Cassell of Metamora, presided at the hearing.

It appears that Goings had been buried before the coroner and a twelve-man jury held the inquest. Coroner Kindig issued a summons directing Constable John Lane to disinter the body. The officer engaged two men to perform that task and the inquest was held on April 21 at the Goings residence "where the dead body was lying."

James Brady told the coroner's jury that he saw Goings shortly after the old man was struck down. "I expect she has killed me," said Goings to Brady, adding, "if I get over it I will have revenge." The old man soon lost the power of speech. Josephus Goings said his father "did not speak to me after he was hurt. He would answer by shaking or nodding his head." Other witnesses at the inquest were Samuel W. Beck, Benjamin Grove, J. H. Whitmire, Roswell Hibbs, Joshua Van Vilson and "Dr. Wood," the latter of Tazewell County. The jury found that Goings came to his death by violence from wounds "inflicted by Melissa Goings, wife," and that a fracture of the skull was the cause of death.

³ Testimony of Josephus Goings, son, at coroner's inquest. The 1850 census indicates that Josephus Goings was the head of a family living near his parents. He was a native of Pennsylvania, 30 years old in 1850; occupation not stated.

⁴ *People's Cases Prior to 1861*, Circuit Court of Woodford Co., document file.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Coroner's return; transcript of the record of Justices Morley and Cassell.

⁶ Armstrong Goings received two votes for coroner in 1846 (*Election Returns*, Illinois State Archives, v. 74, p. 38). He probably was a relative by marriage of Melissa Goings. The Armstrong Goings who lived at the Roswell Goings home was only 14 years old in 1846.

Metamora, formerly called Hanover, was the county seat of Woodford County in 1857. There the grand jury met on October 8, and on the same day reported a bill of indictment against Melissa Goings, charging her with the murder of her husband.⁷ Hugh Fullerton⁸ was state's attorney of the judicial district, and Judge James S. Harriott⁹ of Pekin was on the bench.

The indictment charged that Mrs. Goings "not having the fear of God before his {sic} eyes but being moved and seduced by the instigation of the Devil" did "kill and murder" Roswell Goings. The grand jury found that the wife held in her right hand the instrument of death, a stick of firewood. The bill described the width and depth of the wound which was inflicted in the victim's head.¹⁰ Mrs. Goings was arraigned on the indictment on October 10, 1857. The record reads:

This day came the People by Hugh Fullerton, State's attorney, as well as the defendant in her proper person attended by Grove¹¹ & Lincoln, her attorneys. A copy of the indictment, list of jurors & witnesses having been furnished and given to the defendant, the defendant being arraigned and called on for plea & for plea says she is not guilty.¹²

The trial of Mrs. Goings was set for the same day as her arraignment. The story goes that the defendant was granted time for a conference with Attorney Abraham Lincoln before selection of the trial jury. The conference was short. Mrs. Goings then left the courthouse and was never again seen in Metamora. The court record continues:

And now afterwards on the same day this cause coming on further to be heard the defendant being called came not and also Armstrong Goings & Samuel W. Beck her sureties being called came not to product [produce] the body of Melissa Goings. It is therefore ordered that the Recognizance in this cause be forfeited and that scire facias issue herein returnable to the next term of this court.

On the same day that Mrs. Goings disappeared the grand jury indicted Josephus Goings, her son, on a charge of attempting to bribe an officer. It was alleged that on April 24, 1857, Goings offered Justice of the Peace Cassell ten dollars "on the condition that he the said Robert T. Cassell acting

⁷ *Common Law Record B*, Woodford County Circuit Court, 75.

⁸ Fullerton, a native of Springfield, Ohio, emigrated to Illinois probably before 1845 when he was admitted to the bar. He was elected state's attorney of the Twenty-first Judicial Circuit, comprising Woodford, Tazewell, Mason, Cass and Menard counties, on March 9, 1857. *Election Returns*, 1850-1862, p. 184, Archives.

⁹ Harriott served one term in the Illinois House of Representatives from Jerseyville, 1844-1845. He moved to Tazewell County in 1849 and in 1857 was elected judge to succeed David Davis. He served ten years on the bench and died at Pekin in 1869, *Illinois Blue Book*, 1931-1932, pp. 684, 749; *History of Tazewell County*, 386.

¹⁰ *Peoples Cases Prior to 1861*, document file.

¹¹ Doubtless Henry Grove (1813-1872) of Peoria, a close political friend of Lincoln. He was a delegate to the 1860 Republican convention.

¹² *Common Law Record B*, p. 78.

in the capacity of Justice of the Peace would discharge Melissa Goings his the said Josephus mother who was then about to be brought before him on a charge of having killed and murdered Raswell {sic} Goings."¹³

The defendant gave a sheriff's bond of \$250 with Charles Molitor as co-signer. The case was set for trial in March, 1858, but Goings failed to appear and the recognizance was forfeited. At the October term in the same year the default was set aside on motion of State's Attorney Fullerton and Goings was granted a change of venue. Judge Harriott sent the case to Cass County of which Beardstown then was the county seat.

Like his mother, Josephus Goings jumped his bond and judgment was taken against Molitor in July, 1858. Here the action rested until the September term of 1859 in Cass County when it was placed among "disposed of cases."¹⁴

The name of Goings' attorney does not appear in the pleadings on file at Virginia, present county seat of Cass. Lincoln represented Mrs. Goings' bondsmen in circuit court at Metamora. When the *scire facias* proceedings against Armstrong Goings and Samuel W. Beck came before the court in March, 1858, Lincoln wrote and filed on their behalf a plea of confession and avoidance. The document is preserved in the office of Circuit Clerk George W. Hunt at Eureka, the present county seat of Woodford. The proceedings were continued, doubtless on Lincoln's motion.¹⁵

Roswell Goings seems to have had no friends and the sentiment of the community was strongly in favor of exonerating Mrs. Goings. That Lincoln presented to the prosecuting attorney the argument that no violence would be done to the cause of justice if the aged wife were permitted to go free there is little room for doubt. Indirect evidence indicates that Lincoln personally conferred with the state's attorney at the October term of the circuit court in 1858. The Springfield lawyer visited Metamora for a political speech on October 4. The next day the court, on motion of the prosecutor, ordered the case against the bondsmen stricken from the docket.¹⁶

Mrs. Goings remained a fugitive from justice apparently with no pursuit. Next mention of the case against her appears in the record of May 24, 1859. The court, on motion of State's Attorney Henry Miller,¹⁷ ordered the murder case stricken from the docket.¹⁸

¹³ *Ibid.*; People v. Josephus Goings, document file, Cass County Circuit Court.

¹⁴ *Record*, Cass County Circuit Court.

¹⁵ *Common Law Record B*, 198.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 227.

¹⁷ Miller was elected at a special election, April 4, 1859, to fill a vacancy occasioned by the establishment of the Twenty-third Judicial Circuit out of the counties of Marshall, Woodford and Putnam. He defeated Adlai E. Stevenson, afterward vice-President of the United States, 2,247 to 1,470, *Election Returns*, 1850-1862, p. 235, Archives.

¹⁸ *Common Law Record B*, 313.

Where Mrs. Goings went when she fled from the Metamora Court-house and where she lived immediately thereafter has not been ascertained. However, she was in Tehama County, California, in 1865. There, jointly with Eliza Huffman of the same county, she conveyed seven-eighths of her dower right in the Woodford County homestead farm.¹⁹

A quaint version of Mrs. Goings' disappearance on the day of her scheduled trial is preserved in a Woodford County Circuit Court record made sixty-four years after she took French leave. The story is based on the recollection of Robert T. Cassell, one of the justices who held Mrs. Goings on a murder charge, and court bailiff on the day of the defendant's disappearance. Cassell said:

Mrs. Goings was brought into court that Lincoln might talk to her. After a while I was told by the state's attorney to bring her up for trial, but she could not be found. I asked Lincoln about her and he said he did not know where she was.

I replied, "Confound you, Abe, you have run her off."

"Oh, no, Bob," replied Lincoln. "I did not run her off. She wanted to know where she could get a good drink of water, and I told her there was mighty good water in Tennessee."²⁰

ERNEST E. EAST

NOTE: Credit for discovery of the record of this case, not found in the books on Lincoln as a lawyer, belongs to Charles F. Mohr of Peoria, who was then engaged in research for the Historical Records Survey.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN'S LOT IN LINCOLN, ILLINOIS

A long lost and much sought for Lincoln document has been recently located by Jack Primm in Lincoln, Illinois. It is the note drawn by Lincoln for \$200 which he loaned to James Primm in New York City, July 29, 1857. Primm failed to pay and deeded a lot in Lincoln, Illinois, to Abraham Lincoln.

At the first sale of lots in the new town of Lincoln on August 27, 1853,

¹⁹ *Deed Record S*, Woodford County, 626. Melicia *(sic)* Goings and Eliza Huffman to Frank Joseph Sikle, residence not stated, Aug. 26, 1865. Consideration \$1.

²⁰ *Chancery Record Y*, Woodford County Circuit Court, 336-43. William L. Elwood of Peoria, formerly for twenty-two years a member of the Woodford County bar, told the Goings-Lincoln story, as related by Cassell, when he spoke at a farewell dinner for Judge George W. Patton of Pontiac in June, 1921. Subsequently, Judge Stevens R. Baker at Eureka ordered Elwood's address spread upon the court records.

Another version of such an incident is given by John Hay in his diary for July 18, 1863: "He [Lincoln] told one good story about U. F. Linder getting a fellow off who had stolen a hog, by advising him to go and get a drink, suggesting that the water was better in Tennessee." Manuscript copy of John Hay Diary in Illinois State Historical Library.

New-York, July 29 1857
Thirty days after date I promise to pay
A. Lincoln two hundred dollars with
exchange on New-York
interest at ten per annum, value received,
James Primm.

This note paid to me in full, by conveyance to me, March
11. 1858. of lot 3-Block 19 in Lincoln, Loganbarn-
ty, Illinois.

THE JAMES PRIMM NOTE AND ENDORSEMENT IN LINCOLN'S HANDWRITING
(Same Size as the Original)

the proprietors, Robert B. Latham, John D. Gillett, and Virgil Hickox, sold Lot 3, Block 19 on the south side of the proposed courthouse square to Thomas Clark for \$62. Clark sold the lot to James Primm on February 14, 1857.

James Primm was born in St. Clair County, Illinois, in 1809. His grandfather, a native of Virginia, was one of the pioneers of Illinois. The family was French and the name had once been spelled de La Primm. Primm came to Postville, Logan County, in 1835 and, in partnership with Seth M. Tinsley of Springfield, opened a store across the street west of the old Postville courthouse. This partnership lasted until August 1, 1838 when the business was taken over by Primm. The first post office in Postville was established in April, 1838, in Primm's store with the proprietor as postmaster.

The following spring Primm married Hannah Mariah (Maria) Russell and became the first circuit clerk and master in chancery of Logan County. In 1843 he was elected recorder. Primm engaged extensively in the real estate business. By 1853 he and Ninian Edwards Primm of Springfield were the owners of ten thousand acres of land in Logan, Menard and Sangamon counties, which they offered for sale.

In the summer of 1857 Primm found himself greatly overloaded with real estate and went East for the purpose of negotiating a loan upon his lands. While in New York he was in need of ready cash. Meeting Joel A. Matteson, former governor of Illinois (1853-1857), and a personal friend, he requested a loan of \$400. Matteson may have agreed to loan him \$200, and probably suggested that Abraham Lincoln who was also in New York, might aid him. Primm located Lincoln and borrowed \$200, Lincoln writing out the following note:

NEW-YORK, JULY 29 1857

Thirty days after date I promise to pay A. Lincoln two hundred dollars with interest at ten per annum exchange on New-York value received.

JAMES PRIMM

Lincoln was in New York to see the officers of the Illinois Central Railroad. He had obtained a judgment for a \$5,000 fee less a \$200 retainer against the railroad in the McLean County Circuit Court, June 18, 1857. Lincoln's family accompanied him on this trip, and on Saturday, July 25, they had registered at the Niagara Falls Museum. Lincoln was unsuccessful with the railroad officials and returned home. On August 1, an execution was issued for the sheriff of McLean County to seize enough property of the railroad to satisfy judgment—the fee was then paid. This fee he deposited in his personal, rather than the firm account of Lincoln and Herndon, in the Springfield Marine Bank. A few days later he divided the fee with Herndon.

Lincoln wrote a check to Joel Matteson for \$200 on August 28, 1857, which probably paid Primm's note to Matteson. The panic of 1857 struck in September and Primm, unable to pay off Lincoln's note, deeded a lot to Lincoln as shown by this endorsement on the back of the note:

This note paid to me in full, by conveyance to me, March 11,
1858—of Lot 3—Block 19 in Lincoln, Logan County, Illinois.

In the deed of this date signed by James and Maria Primm the amount of consideration is given as \$400. The original deed and note are now owned by Lincoln College, Lincoln, Illinois. It has long been conjectured by students of Lincoln's life that Matteson loaned \$400 to Primm and that Lincoln was security on the same. Now it appears that Primm borrowed \$200 each from Lincoln and Matteson, and because Lincoln had vouched for Primm, he paid off Matteson, thereby making Primm owe him \$400. Lincoln was fortunate to get the lot when he did because soon afterward Primm was jailed for debt.

Lewis Rosenthal, deputy sheriff of Logan County and collector of taxes, told the following story of a conversation with Lincoln which probably occurred at the March, 1858 term of court:

Mr. Lincoln came to the court house in Lincoln that year to pay his taxes. Prior to this visit, I had been living near Mr. Lincoln's lot and the lot being unused and vacant, and knowing that Mr. Lincoln would not care, I put up a small temporary shed on his lot and stabled a few extra horses there for a short time. I had never had an opportunity to tell Mr. Lincoln what I had done, not having met him. When he came to the sheriff's office to pay his taxes on the lot, he greeted me cordially, as was his usual custom, and stated the object of his visit. While I was preparing the receipt, he happened to look out of the window and discovered the shed on his lot. "Say, Rosenthal," said he, "Isn't that my lot over there?" I told him that "I guessed it was." "Well, who put that shed up there?" inquired Mr. Lincoln. "Well," I replied, "a fellow in town here, who had some extra horses, and wanted some temporary stable room, put up that shed, but the fellow is a good friend of yours." "That's all right," said Mr. Lincoln, "but that fellow, whoever he is, ought to pay my taxes. He is getting all the benefit out of the lot and I get none." "Well," I replied, "I know that fellow, Mr. Lincoln, and he won't pay a cent." "Well, who is he, anyway," said Mr. Lincoln. "If you must know, Mr. Lincoln," I replied, "I'm the fellow." Lincoln looked at me a second or two, and with a twinkle in his eye, said, "Hand over the receipt. I guess I'm in for it."¹

Although it made an entertaining story this scene may not have taken place exactly as the deputy sheriff remembered it since his account is dif-

¹ Lawrence B. Stringer, *History of Logan County, Illinois* (Chicago, 1911), I: 222-23.

ficult to reconcile with the following letter which he wrote nearly a year and a half later:

HON: AB: LINCOLN
SPRINGFIELD ILL

DEAR SIR,

You own a lot here in town, on the Square, joining me, & as such is not occupied I should be much obliged to You for the privelege of usen such throu these winter. I do want to fence such partly in & use it for a hay lot, as I have not room enough on my premisses & remove the fence in the spring or whenever You say so. Please let me know if You will give me those priveleges & oblige

Yours Respectfully
L. ROSENTHAL

LINCOLN AUGUST 10, 1859
III²

Taxes on the lot for 1866 were paid by Samuel Parker who had a blacksmith shop there. William H. Horton wrote to David Davis, administrator of Lincoln's estate, on April 6, 1867: "I am occupying said lot having purchased Mr. Sam Parker's building for a wagon-making and blacksmith shop." Two months later Robert T. Lincoln leased the lot for six years to William H. Horton and Isa J. Cantrall for \$40 per year. On April 18, 1874, Mary Lincoln, widow of Abraham Lincoln, then residing in Chicago, deeded the lot to Robert T. Lincoln, her son, for \$500. Robert T. Lincoln deeded it to David H. Harts on April 23, 1891 in consideration of \$1,000. David H. Harts, Jr. erected a two-story brick store building on the lot in 1926 and marked it with an appropriate tablet. The building is now occupied by a Kroger Grocery Company store.

JAMES T. HICKEY

² Robert Todd Lincoln Collection, Library of Congress.



BOOK REVIEWS

The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln. By The Abraham Lincoln Association, Springfield, Illinois. In 9 vols. (including an Index volume to be published). Roy P. Basler, Editor; Marion Dolores Pratt and Lloyd A. Dunlap, Assistant Editors. (Rutgers University Press: New Brunswick, N. J. Pp. 4,452. \$115 the set.)

Publication under the auspices of the Abraham Lincoln Association of *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, and the sale of more than 1,300 sets two months after its appearance, is a fine tribute to the best known citizen of Illinois. Simultaneously, Benjamin P. Thomas' one-volume life of Lincoln (Knopf, 1952) held a steady place among the nation's best sellers. Thomas was one of the editorial advisors on the *Collected Works* (with J. G. Randall and Paul M. Angle) and made use of the manuscript in writing his biography.

Director Harold N. Munger and Associate Editor Ruth M. Field of Rutgers University Press are to be commended for handling so expertly the multiple problems of production. The type is excellent both in the body and in the footnotes. The Lincoln photographs from the Meserve Collection used as frontispieces are fine reproductions of originals as are the twenty pages from Lincoln's Sum Book and seven of his surveys.

Lincoln's writings were first edited in 1894 in two volumes by his secretaries, John G. Nicolay and John Hay. Their 1,736 documents were then thought to include almost every letter, speech, and state paper written by Lincoln. But six years later Ida M. Tarbell published some 700 additional items, and in 1905 these and more than a hundred other new items were included in the Tandy edition of Nicolay and Hay's *Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln*. In the next quarter of a century, volumes by Gilbert A.

Tracy, Angle, and Emanuel Hertz added more than a thousand new items. Now in eight compact volumes *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln* include all 3,558 previously published items plus 3,312 new ones, making a total of 6,870 (Editor Basler's count). Search of materials in the National Archives and other sources, both public and private, has yielded hundreds of endorsements and notes written by the President on the letter or envelope received. Doubtless hundreds more will be found as time allows further search.

It was in the belief that Lincoln's writings would represent his remarkable character and greatness that the Abraham Lincoln Association began in 1925 to collect photostats in order to publish the products of his pen exactly as he set them down. This purpose was carried forward by executive secretaries Angle (1925-32), Thomas (1932-36), and Harry E. Pratt (1936-43), under the direction of President Logan Hay until his death in 1942. It was brought to completion by his successor, George W. Bunn, Jr., executive secretaries William E. Baringer (1943-47) and Roy P. Basler (1947-52), and assistant editors, Marion Bonzi Pratt (1945-52) and Lloyd A. Dunlap (1947-52). Photostats of some 5,000 documents owned by more than one hundred libraries and several hundred individuals were assembled and used in making the transcriptions.

This significant undertaking was achieved through the initial gift in 1945 of \$22,500 from four directors of the Abraham Lincoln Association, grants totaling \$54,000 by the Rockefeller Foundation, and the expenditure of some \$25,000 of the funds of the Association. Publication costs borne by Rutgers University Press exceed \$85,000. "To have helped," as the foreword states, "in preserving an accurate record of a great man's work is a privilege of the present which the future can properly assess only by pledging itself in some degree to those principles of honesty, justice, and human brotherhood which will distinguish the writings of Lincoln as long as they are read."

Legal papers have been omitted as have "acts of congress, treaties, commissions, authorizations, appointments, pardons, land grants, . . . ships' papers, certificates of service, credences . . . military orders (except those personally drafted or primarily Lincoln's), draft orders, . . . routine pardon and clemency endorsements, . . . and nominations to office submitted to the United States Senate." The reader may well question the decision to leave out the names of voters, and for whom they voted, in four elections at New Salem, all in Lincoln's handwriting. Especially is this true when so much detail is given in footnoting "To William B. Campbell and Others" (VIII: 58-72). Surveys by Lincoln of the towns of New Boston, Bath, and two of

Petersburg appear only in the chronological listing; copies of these which are spread on the county records are more reliable than those used for many items which were included in the *Works* proper.

One of the fine features of the *Collected Works* is newspaper reports of 132 new speeches or parts of speeches prior to the presidency. The speeches of Lincoln and Douglas in the seven debates in 1858 are taken from Lincoln's scrapbook which served as printer's copy for Follett, Foster and Company's 1860 publication. This scrapbook, formerly owned by Oliver R. Barrett, is now in the Alfred Whital Stern Lincoln Collection in the Library of Congress.

Twenty bills, ten amendments and nine resolutions introduced by Lincoln in his four terms in the Illinois legislature are published for the first time; others had appeared in Rufus Rockwell Wilson's *Uncollected Works of Abraham Lincoln*. There are thirteen hitherto unpublished petitions to the governor for pardons for prisoners, but in only one case does the annotation indicate the action of the governor. The original legislative papers and the petitions for pardon are in the Archives Division of the Illinois State Library.

From the pages of Lincoln's "Sum Book" in 1824 to his First Inaugural Address on March 4, 1861, there are 1,698 items. Among these are 578 previously unpublished, of which 249 are letters. Five written in 1839 to his Springfield friend, William Butler, forestall a duel between Butler and Edward D. Baker. Twenty-one concern appointments in the 1840's, including ten to Secretary of State John M. Clayton. Of the revenue law of 1839, Lincoln wrote to William S. Wait that it could be sustained "because it does not increase the tax upon the '*many poor*' but upon the '*wealthy few*' by taxing the land . . . in proportion to its value." Lincoln examines and draws up the recommendation for admission to the Illinois bar of Stanislaus P. Lalumiere, the founder of Marquette University.

Before the Whig convention of 1848 Lincoln wrote Jesse Lynch: "Our only chance is with Taylor. I go for him, not because I think he would make a better president than Clay, but because I think he would make a better one than Polk, or Cass, or Buchanan, or any such creatures." To George Rives who was asking Lincoln's aid in obtaining an appointment, he wrote: "You overrate my capacity to serve you. Not one man recommended by me has yet been appointed to any thing, little or big, except a few who had no opposition." In recommending Simeon Francis, editor since 1831 of the *Sangamo Journal* in Springfield, Lincoln wrote Secretary Clayton that the editor's "good business habits are proved by the fact that the paper has existed eighteen years . . . and has not failed to issue regularly in a single

instance." A significant telegram is one which Lincoln sent to Thomas Ewing on September 27, 1849: "I respectfully decline Governorship of Oregon." The received copy is in the Ewing Papers in the Library of Congress. There are four new letters to James F. Joy, attorney for the Illinois Central Railroad. Lincoln wrote that he was at the depot on receipt of a dispatch from Joy: "I ran to the Telegraph office and answered briefly, and was near being left by the cars."

Forecasting elections and tabulating results was one of Lincoln's pastimes. A six-page tabulation in 1858 (II: 476) and three pages in the presidential election of 1864 (VIII: 182) are particularly interesting and indicative of his meticulousness in getting things straight in his mind.

Lincoln's extreme care in writing and signing petitions is noticeable in his petitions for pardon, and is illustrated hundreds of times in endorsements in the presidential years. An outstanding example of Lincoln's all-out effort to get an appointment was for Dr. Anson G. Henry, a close friend. After the "fatal first of Jany. '41," Lincoln declared that Dr. Henry "is necessary to my existence." He had recommended Henry for postmaster in Springfield in 1840, and in 1849 declared he was "*exceedingly* anxious" for Henry to be appointed "Secretary of the Teritory of Minesota." No job for Henry was forthcoming, but on hearing that he was being considered for an Indian Agency Lincoln wrote: "Dr. Henry was at first, has always been, and still is, No. One with me. I believe, nay, I *know*, he has done more disinterested labor in the Whig cause, than any other one, two, or three men in the state."

Lincoln's handwriting and spelling were unusually good, but he did write "Minesota," "Arazona," "oppertunity," "teritory," "inaugeral," "Man-nasas," "Sumpter," "unanamous," and in the early days "begining" and "verry." He admitted that he had written "verry" for "very" for twenty years.

Accuracy of transcription in the reproduction of Lincoln's writing in the Association edition is excellent. Transcribed correctly the "vanity" in various previous editions, becomes "variety"; "great" becomes "quiet"; "San Francisco" becomes "*scire facias*"; "sneered" or "smiled" becomes "snarled"; and "poisons" becomes "passions." Significantly, Lincoln actually wrote that his son Eddie was ill "fifty-two" instead of "fifteen" days before his death on February 1, 1850. Here for the first time the intimate letters of Lincoln to his friend Joshua F. Speed are transcribed in full and accurately. Fifteen of them, which were in the Barrett Collection, are now in the Illinois State Historical Library.

Editor-in-chief Basler's annotations describe first the type of document, then its present owner, or the source from which the copy was taken. Data

is given to clarify subjects and to identify persons on the first mention. Lincoln's letters are more readily understood when his correspondents' letters are available. In the early volumes there are relatively few notations indicating the letters to which Lincoln replied, or the replies to Lincoln's letters, which are in the Robert Todd Lincoln Papers of Abraham Lincoln in the Library of Congress, opened to the public in 1947. A distinct service to the student would have been the citation of the letters to Lincoln particularly as published in David C. Mearns, *The Lincoln Papers* (1948). Footnotes in the volumes covering the Civil War years include revealing excerpts from Lincoln's correspondence from the Lincoln Papers, Nicolay Papers (Library of Congress), and from the multi-volumes of the *Official Records of the War of the Rebellion*. Intensive use of the Herndon-Weik Papers (Library of Congress), the Weik Collection at the Illinois State Historical Library, as well as the many collections of communications to Lincoln, in these and other institutions and in private hands, would yield other significant material for annotation.

Ownership of Lincoln manuscripts changes so rapidly that no list can be up-to-date, but it is regrettable that so many citations of locations are only to photostats in the Abraham Lincoln Association (P-ISLA).

In Appendix II of Volume VIII (pages 430-591) are listed chronologically the writings for which no text has been found, approximately two hundred forgeries and dubious items attributed to Lincoln, and certain routine communications. Publication of this list may bring to light many of the letters and endorsements known to have been written by Lincoln, but of which no complete copy has been located.

Readers will note that there are in Volume VIII (414-18, 592-95) twenty-four additional items, located too late to go into the proper volume; also forty-nine undated ones (419-29). Others located since publication of the eight volumes may appear in the Index volume. Locating a particular letter by date would not have been so difficult if the chronological listing had included all items, designating volume and page, as originally planned. There would also have been an advantage in asterisking the documents which had not previously appeared in any collection of Lincoln writings.

The Index volume will also include a list of corrections which have been noted since the eight volumes were put into page forms and since publication on February 12, according to tentative plans.

With its major project completed, and its funds exhausted, the Abraham Lincoln Association, retaining its legal identity, closed its office as of December 31, 1952, and transferred its extensive files, including the 5,000 photostats of Lincoln documents, to the Illinois State Historical Library. The

Library staff co-operated fully in making available to the Association editors the Library's one thousand original Lincoln documents, the Henry Horner Lincoln Collection of 6,000 books and pamphlets, the 10,500 books on the Civil War in the Alfred Whital Stern Collection, the Library's outstanding collection of Illinois newspapers (including the invaluable index to the file of the *Illinois State Journal*—formerly the *Sangamo Journal*—of Springfield, 1831-1860), the microfilms of the Lincoln Papers and the Herndon-Weik Collection, and its other resources. Miss Margaret A. Flint, reference librarian, gave unstintingly of her time and expert knowledge. The Library plans to continue the further collection of new Lincoln material, furnish photostats, and answer queries, for we agree with the late Dr. Randall that the Lincoln theme is *not* exhausted.

H. E. P.

Mary Lincoln: Biography of a Marriage. By Ruth Painter Randall. (Little, Brown and Company: Boston, 1953. Pp. 555. \$5.75.)

Mary Lincoln could not have found a kinder, more sympathetic or more indulgent biographer. Hers is a story with great potentialities which has long needed an understanding study based on the evaluation of old and new sources.¹

New manuscript material has been found in the Lincoln Papers and in those of B. B. French, Welles, Nicolay, and Herndon-Weik in the Library of Congress. The author's bibliography shows extensive use of these as well as the manuscript collections in the Illinois State Historical Library, and of numerous intimate letters in other libraries and in private collections.

William H. Herndon, Lincoln's biographer and law partner (1844-1861), is chiefly responsible for the misconceptions about Mary Lincoln. The author and her husband (Dr. J. G. Randall, the distinguished Lincoln scholar) were convinced that Mary Lincoln needs "a new trial before the court of historical investigation." Mrs. Randall sometimes leaves her client (Mary), and hales Herndon into court, acting as prosecuting attorney and also as judge. First, Herndon's writings on Mrs. Lincoln are condemned, and then the man himself. In the first instance the author is convincing. Before her readers she sifts and analyzes the evidence, pro and con, which at times makes for a slow-moving narrative. Too frequently this conscientious vindication is replete with transitional phrases.

¹ Elizabeth Keckley, her Negro dressmaker and friend, gave her recollections in the ghostwritten *Behind the Scenes* (1868); sixty years later, Katherine Helm, daughter of Mary's half-sister Emilie, published a favorable account in *The True Story of Mary, Wife of Lincoln*. In 1932 appeared Dr. William A. Evans' medical study, *Mrs. Abraham Lincoln: A Study of Her Personality*; and also Carl Sandburg and Paul M. Angle, *Mary Lincoln, Wife and Widow*, the latter half of which is devoted primarily to letters of Mary Todd Lincoln.

Some readers may form conclusions which differ from Mrs. Randall's interpretation of the documented evidence—or even the author's evaluation of a particular source. The critical reader may feel that proper appraisal has not been placed on contemporary and reminiscent accounts. For example, the reader first meets Mary through a reminiscence dictated after seventy years. A good but not conclusive argument is made that the opposition of Ninian and Elizabeth Edwards was the basic cause of the estrangement of Mary and Abraham on what Lincoln called the "fatal first of Jany. '41."

Mrs. Randall's portrayal of Mary and Abraham as a devoted couple is a distinct contribution. "There was love in the house on Eighth Street, there was fun and playfulness." Mary Todd when she met Lincoln in 1839 was "sprightly, tenderhearted, sympathetic, headstrong, intellectually precocious, and intensely feminine" and was to declare "she would marry only for love... preferred a good man, a man of mind, to all the wealth in the world." The author presents reliable evidence of a happy marriage of two people of unusual tenderness and affection, with a "mutual rare devotion to and enjoyment of their children." Indulging Tad and Willie was common to both, and the White House escapades of the boys are delightfully recounted.

Mrs. Lincoln's peculiarities are presented in such pungent statements as these: "There was much to be said on her side and she doubtless said it"; "Mary, who never quite grew up in some ways." Lincoln's "child wife" was an "ill balanced personality"; "emotionally unstable"; "extremely sensitive"; "never too discreet"; who "went berserk" at an army review. Irrational thinking in money matters "was noticeable with Mary's first days in Washington, with a dread fear of poverty, alternating with irrational spending sprees." These "peculiarities" caused many embarrassing incidents which the author sympathetically discusses, sometimes explaining them with Lincoln's comment, "Mary is not feeling well."

There is much emphasis upon the superior qualities of the Kentucky aristocracy of the Todds and the "backwoods" aspect and poverty pleas of Lincoln's Coles County relatives. A more balanced treatment would not ignore the favor-seeking relatives of Mrs. Lincoln.

The chapter, "As Ardent an Abolitionist," reveals Mary Lincoln's little known antislavery views and acts while First Lady in Washington. With heavy representation of her family in the Confederate Army; with the unprincipled opposition striking her husband by attacks upon her; and female rebel sympathizers sneering at her social plans, Mrs. Lincoln had great obstacles to meet. She stood up well, "met her enemies," says Mrs. Randall, until the death of their eleven-year-old son, Willie, in February, 1862. Both husband and wife were slow to recover from the effects of death in the

family. Lincoln voiced so feelingly that rainy morning in February, 1861, his sadness on leaving Springfield, which his wife doubtless shared with him. Social life in Washington was difficult for both—but for different reasons. Each sought in religious faith some surcease from the stress of a civil war.

Approximately equal space is given to Mary Lincoln's Springfield and Washington years, with the last five of the thirty-four chapters describing her life from the assassination of the President to her death on July 16, 1882. Mary's grandnephew, who seemed the image of her Tad and Willie, brought brightness and comfort to her last years. The author weaves the widow's intimate and appealing letters to "Dear Lewis," hitherto unpublished, into an effective concluding chapter.

Among the noteworthy features of this biography are the seventy-one pages of documentation. A manuscript or printed source is cited for all letters quoted. Interviews are dated. The index is commendable, particularly in the four pages of entries on Mary Lincoln and two on Abraham Lincoln. Illustrations, format and book jacket are excellent.

Virginia-born Ruth Painter Randall collaborated with her husband on two chapters of his *Lincoln the President* (volumes I and II, 1945), "The House on Eighth Street" and "Sifting the Ann Rutledge Evidence." Since then she has contributed articles on Mary Lincoln in the *Abraham Lincoln Quarterly* and *The New York Times Magazine*. *Mary Lincoln: Biography of a Marriage* was an alternate selection of the *Atlantic Monthly* Book Club for February, and has been on the "best seller" lists.

H. E. P.

Lincoln and Greeley. By Harlan Hoyt Horner. (University of Illinois Press: Urbana, 1953. Pp. 432. \$6.00.)

Dr. Horner has fittingly climaxed many years of study of the careers of Lincoln and Greeley with this thorough, scholarly and well written full length treatment of the relationships between the statesmen and the editor of the *New York Tribune*. The author makes it clear that "these two eager, honest, patriotic, liberty-loving, peace-loving men," both "self-willed and determined," had much in common on the issue of slavery. Both "achieved a passion for freedom early in their careers, believed slavery was irretrievably wrong, and nurtured the hope for its ultimate extinction."

Greeley's impetuosity and Lincoln's deliberateness amounted to a temperamental difference that was "basic in their personal contacts and in their approach to public issues," and perhaps accounted "for the lack of warmth or cordiality of feeling between them and for their inability to see certain things alike." The difference was evident on many occasions, perhaps never

more so than after Bull Run when "Greeley broke under extraordinary stress, Lincoln did not." The President calmly laid plans to meet the new situation; the editor became almost hysterical.

The author stresses Lincoln's skill as a politician "adroitly building fences day by day" in 1864, the possessor of "a sixth sense in politics." Dr. Horner pays tribute to Lincoln's "singular detachment," which enabled him to "maintain his temper and his poise and never in his most intimate and confidential moments" to indicate a hope or a wish "that evil might befall his enemies," save "as it should be necessary for the salvation of the country."

If publication could have been delayed a few months until the appearance of the new *Collected Works* of Lincoln, a few inaccuracies in quotations might have been avoided. A few slips were noted. Lincoln was elected to Congress on August 3, 1846, not in 1847 (p. 9). President Taylor died on July 9, 1850, not on June 9 (p. 13). The few others noted were of a like inconsequential character.

Dr. Horner has given a clear and honest appraisal of Abraham Lincoln and Horace Greeley at those points where they came in contact. The book was the January selection of the American History Publication Society.

Eastern Illinois State College

CHARLES H. COLEMAN

Giant of the Yards. By Louise A. Neyhart. Illustrated by Frederick T. Chapman. (Houghton Mifflin Company: Boston, 1952. Pp. 218. \$3.00.)

Mrs. Neyhart has written a sympathetic biography for teen-agers of Gustavus Franklin Swift, titan of the meat packing industry. The book is readable and artistically and pleasingly illustrated with black and white sketches.

The life of Swift is almost a history of the meat industry as it burgeoned in Chicago in the last century and the beginning of the twentieth. Gustavus Swift was the first to ship dressed beef to eastern markets; he developed the refrigerator car; he utilized for profit the by-products of the industry such as soap, glue and fertilizer; he developed overseas markets for American beef.

Swift was a dynamic, seemingly tireless, forceful personality. He passionately loved his business, worked hard and believed others should, too. He did not believe in praising employees but rewarded merit with promotion. He was one of the most rugged of the rugged individualists of that bygone era. Swift died in 1903.

S. A. W.



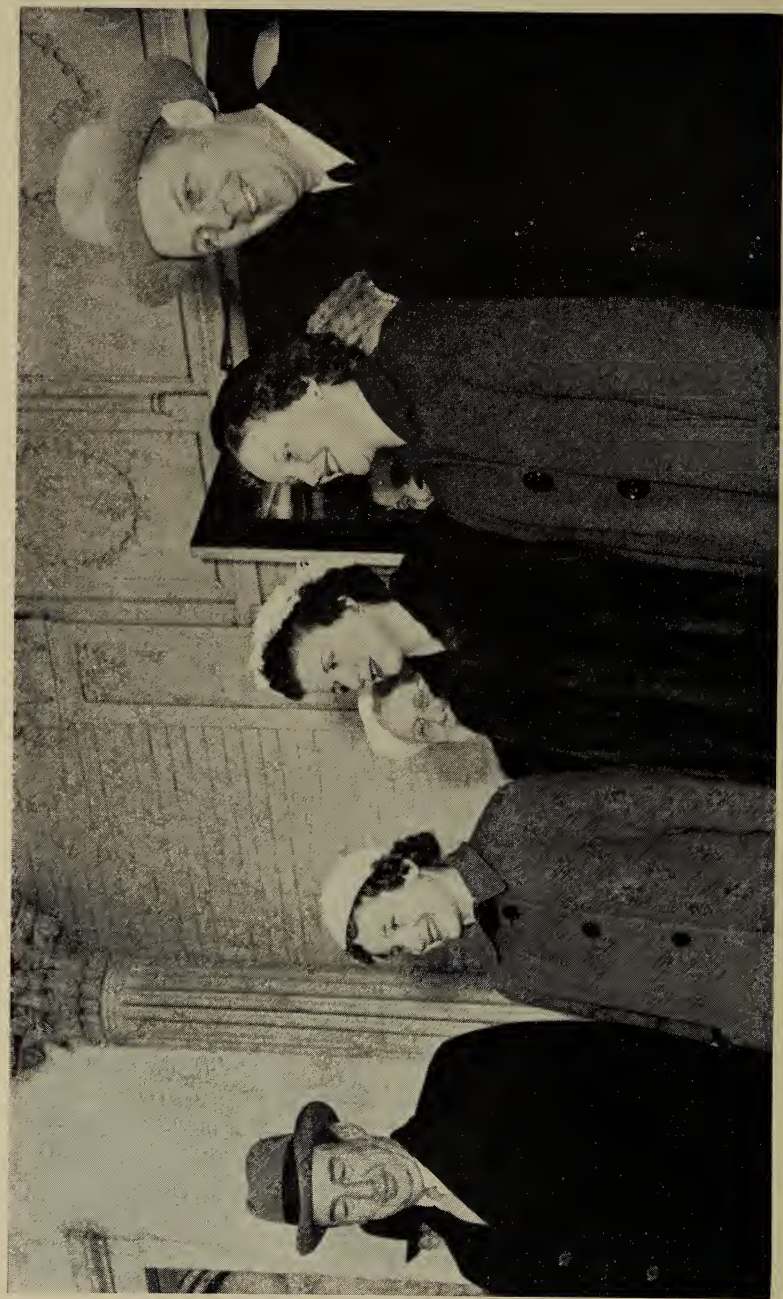
SPRING MEETING OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

J. Ward Barnes of Eldorado, Illinois State Historical Society director and chairman of the arrangements committee for the organization's annual spring meeting, is putting the finishing touches on plans for the event which will be held in Harrisburg on Friday and Saturday, May 8 and 9. In addition to conducted tours to points of historic interest in Saline and surrounding counties and a boat trip on the Ohio River there will be dinner meetings on both days.

Members of the Society and their guests will register on Friday morning at the Horning Hotel in Harrisburg which will be headquarters for the meeting. Luncheon on Friday will be served at the Harrisburg Masonic Temple at which time Scerial Thompson, former president of the State Society, will speak. In the afternoon a tour will visit Camel Rock, Old Stone Face, Anvil Rock and other places in Saline County. Paul M. Angle, director of the Chicago Historical Society and author of *Bloody Williamson*, will be the speaker at the Friday dinner meeting at the Eldorado High School.

On Saturday the group will take a bus and automobile tour to Shawnee-town, Old Slave House, Nigger Springs, site of Potts Tavern and Cave-in-Rock. From there they will go down the Ohio River by barge to Elizabethtown. After visiting the famous Rose Hotel, the oldest part of which was built in 1812, they will return to Harrisburg where the dinner meeting will be held at the Kurto Country Club. Dr. Frank L. Owsley, professor of history at the University of Alabama, will be the speaker at this session.

The State Society will be the guest of the Saline County Historical Society and assisting Chairman Barnes on the committee will be John Foster, W. H. Farley, Mrs. Clyde Pittman, Mrs. Eugene Choisser, and Mr. and Mrs.



Herbert Georg Studio

ILLINOIS' THIRTY-FIRST AND THIRTY-SECOND GOVERNORS, AND THE LATTER'S FAMILY

As they left the Executive Mansion on January 12 for the inauguration, left to right: Governor Adlai E. Stevenson; Diana Lov thirteen; Mrs. Stevenson; Susan Lee; thirteen; and Governor-elect William C.

Scerial Thompson of Harrisburg; Fred Wasson of Carrier Mills; John W. Allen of Carbondale; and Mrs. H. C. Holdoway of Eldorado.

All members of the State Society will receive a complete program along with reservation blanks in ample time to make their arrangements. A special invitation is being extended to wives of members to attend this meeting.

THIRTY-SECOND GOVERNOR OF ILLINOIS

William G. Stratton, twice congressman-at-large and twice state treasurer, took the oath of office as Illinois' thirty-second governor in ceremonies at the State Armory in Springfield on Monday, January 12. Preceding the inauguration the governor-elect and his family, together with other incoming elected officials, gathered at the Executive Mansion where the inaugural parade formed. Governor Adlai E. Stevenson and Governor-elect Stratton rode in the first car behind the high school band from Morris, Illinois, the governor-elect's home town. Music at the Armory was furnished by the University of Illinois Concert Band.

The new Governor was sworn in by Chief Justice Albert M. Crampton of the Illinois State Supreme Court. Other officials taking their oaths were: John W. Chapman, Springfield, Lieutenant Governor; Charles F. Carpentier, East Moline, Secretary of State; Latham Castle, Sandwich, Attorney General; Orville E. Hodge, Granite City, Auditor of Public Accounts; and Elmer J. Hoffman, Wheaton, State Treasurer.

Governor Stratton was born at Ingleside, Lake County, on February 26, 1914, and was educated in the public schools of Lake County and the University of Arizona, from which he was graduated in 1934. He was elected congressman-at-large in 1940, and in 1942 was the successful candidate for state treasurer. After U. S. Navy service in the Pacific Theater in World War II, he was again elected congressman-at-large (1946) and state treasurer (1950). Governor Stratton's father, the late William J. Stratton, served as Illinois Secretary of State from 1929 to 1933, and prior to that had been the first director of the Department of Conservation.

"FOREVER THIS LAND!" NOT TO REOPEN

Directors of the New Salem Lincoln League of Petersburg, Illinois, have decided not to reopen the outdoor Lincoln drama "Forever This Land!" which has been presented for the past two seasons at Kelso Hollow in New Salem State Park. Even though the attendance for the total of 107 per-

formances averaged slightly more than one thousand and showed an increase of nearly ten per cent in the second year they considered that this was more than offset by the risk of a poor third season. The drama was written by Kermit Hunter especially for presentation at New Salem and the Kelso Hollow theater was rebuilt and enlarged to accommodate an audience of three thousand. The production required a cast of about sixty and a production and business staff of twenty.

SANDBURG'S SEVENTY-FIFTH BIRTHDAY

Carl Sandburg's seventy-fifth birthday, January 6, inaugurated a busy week for the Lincoln biographer, poet, novelist and folk singer in which he received national and international honors at celebrations in Chicago, Galesburg and New York. On his birthdate Harcourt, Brace and Company published his latest book, *Always the Young Strangers*, an autobiography covering his first nineteen years.

The birthday party planned by Chairman Ralph G. Newman was a gathering of some five hundred of Sandburg's friends, the number being limited by the accommodations of the Crystal Ballroom of Chicago's Blackstone Hotel. The guest of honor was accompanied by his wife Lilian, and with Herb Graffis, columnist of the *Chicago Sun-Times*, as master of ceremonies, the dinner program lasted until well after midnight. The rank of Commander in the Order of the Northern Star from King Gustav VI of Sweden was presented to Sandburg by Swedish Ambassador Erik Boheman, and he was commissioned a "colonel in the Confederate Air Force" by William H. Townsend of Lexington, Kentucky, a fellow Lincoln author. President Harry S. Truman sent birthday greetings and Governor Adlai E. Stevenson made a transcription of the short talk he would have delivered if state business had not kept him in Springfield. Sandburg himself furnished the entertainment highlight of the evening with guitar-accompanied selections from his *American Songbag* and readings from *Always the Young Strangers*.

On Friday evening, January 9, Sandburg received a homecoming welcome from a crowd of more than fourteen hundred at the Central Congregational Church in Galesburg. The Rev. Alan Jenkins, pastor of the church, presided. State Representative Richard R. Larson presented Sandburg a copy of a laudatory resolution passed by the Illinois General Assembly, and Q. F. Johnson, president of the Galesburg Chamber of Commerce, gave him a wooden statuette carved by Don Gullickson, which was symbolic of his Galesburg boyhood and his rise to fame.

On January 13 Sandburg was honored at a dinner in the Ambassador

Hotel, New York City, where the Poetry Society of America awarded him a gold medal for distinguished achievement.

ANOTHER TRIBUTE TO SANDBURG

Carl Haverlin, president of Broadcast Music, Inc. and publisher of Sandburg's *New American Songbag*, who wrote the article "He Heard America Sing" in the Winter issue of this *Journal*, has added poetry to his many other accomplishments. Though he makes no claim to being a poet, those who read his verses below will understand what Lincoln meant when he wrote that a visit to his old home in Indiana "aroused feelings in me which were certainly poetry; though whether my expression of those feelings is poetry is quite another question":

LINES FOR CARL SANDBURG¹

("Always the Young Stranger" who makes songs and sings them)

ON HIS SEVENTY-FIFTH BIRTHDAY

Time will tire a carven stone
and shadows may
By stroking their dark fingers
smooth it down,

And quite obliterate a name.

For name and rock
are passing things

And time and shadows not.

Time and shadows—that erase
with day and night—

By only their slow passing
will rub out

Great temples or a little book.

For books and gods
are brittle things

And time and shadows not.

Time and shadows tireless are
but songs live on

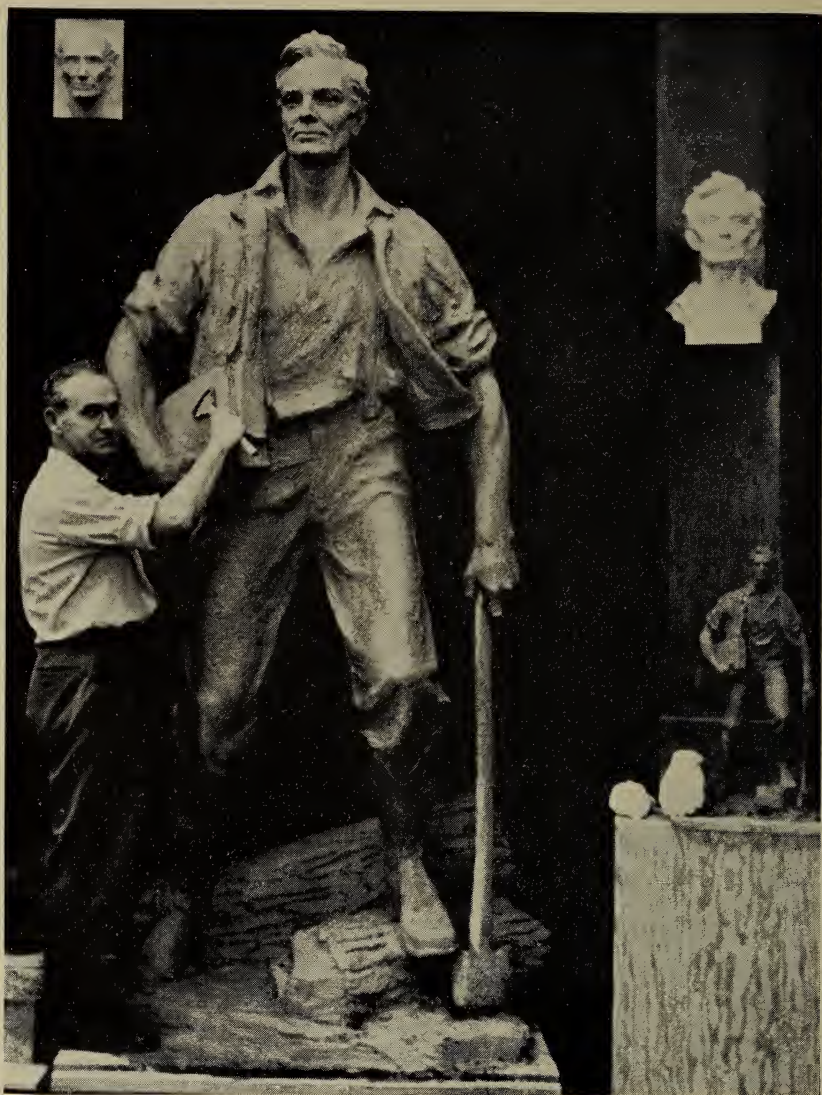
And all of those who make them
They will stay

alive and singing in the heart.

For heart and song
are living things

And time and shadows not.

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"ABRAHAM LINCOLN FROM NEW SALEM"

Sculptor Avard Fairbanks is shown in his Salt Lake City, Utah, studio as he completed work on the plaster model of his nine-foot Lincoln statue which will be cast in bronze and presented to New Salem State Park this summer. At the right is the miniature statue which he made as a model. At the left of this are copies of the plastic casts of Lincoln's hands by Sculptor Leonard W. Volk. Above these is a head of Lincoln which Fairbanks made as a model for his earlier statue "Lincoln the Frontiersman." At the upper left of the picture is the Volk life mask of Lincoln.

LINCOLN STATUE FOR NEW SALEM

A nine-foot bronze statue "Abraham Lincoln from New Salem" will be erected in New Salem State Park this summer to become the only Lincoln statue in the restored village where he lived from 1831 to 1837. The work will be presented to the state by the Sons of Utah Pioneers, according to Nicholas G. Morgan, Sr., Salt Lake City attorney and vice president of the national organization, with whom the idea of the statue originated.

The statue, sculptured by Dr. Avard Fairbanks, dean of the College of Fine Arts of the University of Utah, will be placed near the entrance to Lincoln's New Salem. The plaster model has been completed and this will now be cast in bronze and the nine-foot base erected.

Sculptor Fairbanks is represented by work in many parts of the country, particularly the Northwest. He designed the Leonard Andrus monument at Grand Detour, Illinois, the town which Andrus founded and where he was a partner of John Deere in a plow factory, before the latter moved to Moline. This will be Fairbanks' second Lincoln statue—his first one, "Lincoln the Frontiersman," also a nine-foot bronze figure, is at Ewa school, near Honolulu, Hawaii.

The New Salem statue depicts Lincoln as he is about to leave the village for his new career in Springfield. His right hand holds a copy of Blackstone's *Commentaries*, symbolizing his new profession, and in his left hand is the frontiersman's axe which he is putting aside. His clothes are those of the frontier: open shirt and vest, homespun trousers tucked into boots.

REMODELED LINCOLN HOME REOPENED

Abraham Lincoln's Home at Eighth and Jackson streets in Springfield, which had been closed to visitors since August 22 for remodeling, was reopened on January 29. Governor William G. Stratton and State Conservation Director Glen D. Palmer spoke briefly at the reopening ceremonies.

The purpose of the remodeling was to restore the Home to the appearance it had when the Lincoln family left it in 1861. It was repainted "a Quaker tint of light brown" and a kitchen and rear porch were removed because they had been added after the Lincolns left. New heating and lighting systems have been installed, and the routing of visitors through the first floor rooms has been changed. The Lincolns' kitchen has been restored and a "Dutch door" with the upper half left open will allow visitors to inspect it. The new carpeting and wallpaper are in patterns of 1860, and the roof at the front is now covered with fire-resistant split board shingles.

The color of paint used on the exterior was determined from accounts

written in 1860 (see page 7), and by checking places where the paint had peeled off the black walnut weatherboarding. The picture on the front cover of this *Journal* was taken a few days before the reopening ceremonies. Although the "light brown" appears almost white, and the green shutters are black, it is noticeably darker than the white of the flagpole and the white fence at the lower right. The wooden flagpole will be replaced with a metal one.

CONTINUING A FAMILY TRADITION

David Davis, Bloomington lawyer and great-grandson of Justice David Davis, on January 10, 1953, took his seat in the Senate of the Sixty-eighth General Assembly of Illinois. His great-grandfather of the same name began his legal career in Bloomington in 1836, was elected to the Illinois House of Representatives in 1844, and traveled the Eighth Judicial Circuit with Abraham Lincoln from 1839 to 1848. Davis was the leader of the Lincoln forces at the Chicago Convention in May, 1860. He was circuit judge from 1848 to 1862 when President Lincoln appointed him to the United States Supreme Court. Lincoln acted as judge occasionally when Davis was absent from the circuit. Davis was the administrator of Lincoln's estate, and upon his resignation from the Supreme Court in 1877, served one term in the United States Senate.

The fine brick and stone mansion built by Judge Davis in 1872 which is still standing in Bloomington, is described by John Drury in *Old Illinois Houses*. An abstract of a doctoral dissertation at the University of Illinois on Davis by Harry E. Pratt was printed in the *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society for 1930*. Willard L. King, Chicago lawyer and author of *Melville Fuller* (1950), is now preparing a biography of Davis.

DAUGHTER OF WARD HILL LAMON DIES

Mrs. Dorothy Lamon Teillard, daughter of Ward Hill Lamon, died in Martinsburg, West Virginia, on January 20, 1953 at the age of ninety-five. She was born in Bloomington, Illinois, and on the death of her mother in April, 1859, Dorothy was taken to Danville where she was reared by the family of her father's sister, the William Morgans. Educated in Danville, she was married there, and her two children died there in infancy. The marriage was an unhappy one, and she moved to Washington upon receiving an appointment from her fellow townsman General John C. Black and worked for the government in the Pension Office for twenty-three years. She made many trips abroad, and married her French teacher Xavier Teillard. They lived some twenty-one years in France.

Madame Teillard is best known to Lincoln students for her book, *Recollections of Abraham Lincoln, 1847-1865*, drawn from her father's private papers. Published first in 1895, a revised and enlarged edition appeared in 1911. Her father was a local partner of Lincoln in the practice of law in Danville, 1852-1857. In the latter year Lamon became state's attorney and moved to Bloomington. President Lincoln appointed him Marshal of the District of Columbia.

FIFTH ABRAHAM LINCOLN ISSUE

With its February number the *Illinois Junior Historian* magazine, which is sponsored by the Illinois State Historical Society, published its fifth annual Abraham Lincoln issue. The magazine is written and illustrated entirely by students of junior high school age throughout the state. Each year they write about little known incidents in Lincoln's life and they have even discovered several facts that were unknown to the Lincoln scholars.

In this year's issue there are fifteen articles and two book reviews—and two more students are represented by their drawings. These nineteen young historians attend sixteen schools in fourteen towns and cities: Alton, Chicago, Dwight, East Moline, Freeport, Jacksonville, Moline, Normal, Oak Park, Park Ridge, Rock Island, South Jacksonville, Springfield and Tallula. Among the subjects they discuss are Lincoln's substitute in the Civil War, the poetry he wrote, why he was the first President to wear a beard, and the California hunter who entertained him at the White House by playing on a fiddle made from a mule's skull.

These Abraham Lincoln issues of the *Junior Historian* have been sought by many collectors of Lincolniana and for this reason a number of extra copies are published each year. The February, 1953 issue is still available and may be obtained at 20 cents each by writing: Illinois Junior Historian, Illinois State Historical Library, Centennial Building, Springfield, Illinois.

AMERICAN NAME SOCIETY

The American Name Society has been organized for the purpose of promoting and encouraging the study of place names, personal names, and scientific and commercial nomenclature. In April, 1953, the new Society will publish the first issue of *Names*, a quarterly devoted to articles on names written by members. Annual meetings will be held in December each year at the same place and time as the meeting of the Modern Language Association.

Inquiries concerning membership should be sent to Professor Erwin G. Gudde, University of California Press, Berkeley 4, California.

ACTIVITIES OF LOCAL HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

Again the legendary Piasa Bird may be seen on a cliff north of Alton near McAdams Memorial Highway. The original Indian painting of the monster bird disappeared long ago. Dedicatory ceremonies for the new painting were held by the Alton Area Historical Society on October 12, 1952.

Officers of the Society are: Harry L. Meyer, president; William H. Gissal, vice-president; Charlot Stamper, secretary; and Margaret Hall, treasurer and librarian.

Officers of the Boone County Historical Society are: Harry Perkins, president; Perry Bennett, vice-president; Harold Sewell, second vice-president; Nelva Dean, secretary; and Fred Falkenstein, treasurer.

The Bureau County Historical Society has acquired photographic equipment which belonged to W. H. Immke, pioneer photographer in Princeton. The photographer's son, William Immke, donated the paraphernalia. The Society has also obtained a manuscript, written many years ago by Stephen G. Paddock, which tells of Lincoln's appearance in Princeton on July 4, 1856.

The first function of the Cairo Historical Association was held in September at the Society's beautiful "Magnolia Manor." Nearly 500 attended the reception and open house. The historic mansion, which was acquired by the Association, has been renovated and the effect is most pleasing.

A course in Edwards County history was given during the winter in Albion by Edgar L. Dukes, historian and custodian of the Edwards County Historical Society. The course was for adults and the fee was \$5.00.

A marker has been placed in Alexander Park, Evanston, honoring Dr. William G. Alexander for his distinguished services to the community. The bronze plaque was erected by the tablet section of the Evanston Historical Society.

Professor Ray Allen Billington spoke to the Geneva Historical Society at the group's winter meeting on December 7. His topic was "The Forests and Prairies of Northern Illinois." He gave a vivid word picture of the

northern Illinois country as it appeared when the first settlers arrived. Dr. Charles Lytle is president of the Society.

At the December meeting of the Jefferson County Historical Society, Orian Metcalf reviewed *Bloody Williamson* by Paul M. Angle. In September Irvin M. Peithman was the speaker on "Archaeology of Southern Illinois." Peithman is on the staff of the Southern Illinois University Museum.

The Kankakee County Historical Society held a tour of the area's historic homes on Sunday, October 26. Over 200 visited the homes of Mr. and Mrs. Henry Leavitt, Mr. and Mrs. Bonfield Hemstreet, and Mr. and Mrs. H. M. Snyder, all of Kankakee, and that of Mr. and Mrs. I. W. Voight of Aroma township. This was the Society's first arranged tour of some of the community's older homes.

A program of Christmas songs by "The Olivetians" was the Society's contribution to the holiday season. The program was held in the Kankakee County Courthouse on Sunday, December 7. Daniel W. Liddell, professor of voice at Olivet College, directed the choir.

The Kenilworth Historical Society held its twenty-fourth dinner meeting on November 12 at the Kenilworth Club. A turkey dinner preceded the business meeting and entertainment. The latter consisted of eight animated tableaux depicting scenes of early Kenilworth. Bentley McCloud, Jr. is president of the Society; E. John Hicks, Jr., vice-president; and Virginia Little, secretary-treasurer.

The Lake County Historical Society held a joint meeting with the PTA of the Warren Township Consolidated Grade School District on November 19, 1952, in the Warren Township High School at Gurnee. After a review of the history of the township, the meeting was opened for discussion. The Society plans to hold similar meetings in other townships of Lake County.

Officers and directors of the recently formed LaSalle County Historical Society are: Mrs. Edward Carus, president; Mrs. Edgar Cook, vice-president; Nita Smith, secretary; and Mrs. Charles Clifford, treasurer. Fifteen directors were chosen as follows: for three years, Mrs. Clinton Gardner, Nathan Fleming, Dorothy Bienneman, Mrs. Edgar Cook, and Mrs. Harry Cook, Sr.;

for two years, Mrs. Louise McDougal, Thad Davisson, the Rev. Martin Coughlin, William J. Lewis, and Mrs. Glen Herrcke; for one year, Mrs. Walter Chapman, Ray Hawley, Horace Hickok, Mrs. Edward Carus, and C. C. Tisler

A commemorative souvenir plate has been designed for sale in conjunction with the Lincoln and Atlanta centennials. In the center of the plate is a portrait of Lincoln surrounded by eight panels showing events in the history of Logan county. The plate was designed by Charles E. Murphy, artist for the Stetson China Company of Lincoln.

Another project of the Logan County Historical Society which it hopes to complete in 1953 is the restoration of the Postville Courthouse. Five trustees for the "Postville Courthouse Memorial Trust" were recently named by Judge Frank S. Bevan of the Logan County Circuit Court. The trustees are: D. H. Harts, Daniel F. Nickols, Mrs. Allyne V. Nugent, James T. Hickey, and John R. Gehlbach.

Mrs. Densie Crissey has presented to the McLean County Historical Society three paintings she has made of historic scenes. One depicts the disastrous fire of 1900 which destroyed the Bloomington business district. Another is of an open street car of 1897, while the third illustrates the changing of a tire on a 1904 automobile.

Officers of the Madison County Historical Society include: Don F. Lewis, president; Ella Tunnell, vice-president; Jessie Springer, secretary; and E. W. Ellis, treasurer. The mystery of Indian Hill, a research project of the Land of Goshen Society, was the subject of the fall meeting of the Madison County Historical Society. The group met on Indian Hill, eight miles southeast of Edwardsville, overlooking Silver Creek.

Officers of the Mattoon Historical Society are: Fred Grant, president; Walter Kemper, vice-president; and Mrs. Horace Champion, secretary-treasurer.

Dr. Harry E. Pratt spoke at the January meeting of the Society. He described documents acquired recently by the Illinois State Historical Library. At a meeting last September, Nicholas G. Morgan, Sr., of Salt Lake City, Utah, spoke to the group. He is the son of one of Mattoon's Civil War soldiers, John Morgan, and his topic was the 123rd Illinois Infantry with which his father served. He also presented the Society with a large map showing the campaigns of the regiment, which was organized at Mattoon.

The January banquet and meeting of the Morgan County Historical Society honored the Jacksonville Public Library. The topic for the evening was, "Fifty Years in the Carnegie Jacksonville Public Library Building." The building was opened February 23, 1903. The principal speakers were Dr. Malcolm F. Stewart, Leo J. Flood, Mrs. Stella Seybold Heintz, and Frances Bailey. Mrs. Heintz was the second librarian and Miss Bailey is the present librarian.

The Historical Society of Quincy and Adams County held an open house last fall, and a special exhibit of early American pressed glass spoon holders from the collection of Mrs. William F. Gerdes, Jr., was on display.

At the November meeting of the Peoria Historical Society Charles Engstrom spoke on "The Leather Industry in Peoria," and Harry L. Spooner addressed the group on "The Site and Occupants of Fort Crevecoeur."

Officers of the Piatt County Historical Society elected in December are: Calvin W. Adams, president; William T. Lodge, vice-president; Lena Bragg, secretary-treasurer. New directors elected are: Frank Wrench, Donn Piatt, Francis Brooks, Mrs. T. J. Foster, Henry Dighton, and W. J. Henebry. Dr. Arthur E. Bestor, Jr. addressed the group on the subject, "Backwoods Utopias."

The Rock Island County Historical Society held its fall dinner meeting in the Hillsdale Methodist Church on October 22. Mrs. Maud Hill and Mrs. E. L. Hanson read papers relating to the early history of Hillsdale. Mrs. Arthur Stephenson reviewed the early history of Canoe Creek and Zuma townships.

The newly organized Rockton Historical Society elected the following officers: Guy Hopkins, president; Mrs. Frank Truman, vice-president; Mrs. William Bigelow, secretary; and Paul Sprague, treasurer.

Variety has been the keynote of the Saline County Historical Society's recent meetings. In January Mrs. John F. Foster discussed the history of photography; in December Mrs. J. D. Morse spoke on "Reminiscences of Teaching on Old Kaskaskia Island." In October the group held its last outing of the season with a picnic dinner at a prehistoric Indian village site south of Stonefort. The meal was cooked in Indian "pot holes" made in solid rock.

During the 1952 political campaign Scerial Thompson's collection of campaign buttons, ribbons, and other mementos was on display in Harrisburg. The hundreds of items were exhibited in sixteen glass-covered frames.

Three evenings of smorgasbord in honor of Rockford's centennial were sponsored by the Swedish Historical Society of Rockford on October 14-16 in the Viking dining room of the Nelson Hotel. The smorgasbord was for the benefit of the Erlander Home Museum. Hostesses each night dressed in Swedish provincial costumes and special music added color and gaiety to the occasion. A plaque has been received by the Society for the museum from Tidaholm, Sweden, recognizing Rockford's centennial.

Sweden's King Gustaf VI has honored a fourth Rockford man with the Royal Order of Vasa. He is Martin R. Wall, a furniture manufacturer and vice-president of the Swedish Historical Society. The other three Rockford men who were named knights of Vasa in 1951 are: Herman G. Nelson, Swan Hillman, and Nils F. Testor.

The Winnetka Historical Society arranged a trip to Lake Geneva, Wisconsin, on October 11, under the leadership of Guilford Windes. The Lake Geneva area, or Lake Kishwauketo (clear water) as it was known to the Indians, is rich in Indian lore.

On November 12, 1952, Paul M. Angle addressed the Society on the subject, "Williamson County." Mr. Angle is the author of the recently published *Bloody Williamson*. An exhibit prepared by Frank A. Windes for this meeting illustrated early episodes in Winnetka history. The meeting was held in the Winnetka Woman's Club.

FAMILY HISTORIES

The names of those presenting family histories to the Illinois State Historical Library are customarily printed in the Winter issue of the *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*. Because the Winter, 1952 issue was devoted to Carl Sandburg, the list of donors of genealogical material is printed herewith. The Library wishes to thank the following:

Dana Converse Backus, New York City, for Backus, *The New England Ancestry of Dana Converse Backus*.

Mrs. G. N. Bassett, Minneapolis, Minnesota, for Bassett, "The McConnaughey Family."

James R. Bowman, Washington, D. C., for: Cassel, *A Genea-Biographical History of the Rittenhouse Family*; Historical Records Survey, Massachusetts, *History of the Town of Ashland*; *Manufacturers', Bankers', Business and Professional Men's Directory of Whiteside County . . . 1896-97*; Perkins, *The Kentucky Gilpins*.

- Edith J. Buxton, Chicago, Illinois, for Buxton, *San Jose Centennial Book*.
- Leslie A. Carter, Detroit, Michigan, for "Mimeographed copy of letter re Cater and Carter families of Maine and New Hampshire and mimeographed sheets of data regarding these families in Adams and Hancock counties."
- J. Henry Caruthers, Cape Girardeau, Missouri, for Caruthers, *The House of Benjamin Everett Caruthers and Others*.
- Spencer B. Cleland, St. Paul, Minnesota, for Cleland, "Boss-LaMont Family Record."
- George Norwood Comly, Moylan, Pennsylvania, for Comly, *Supplement to Comly Family in America*.
- Orrin Bryte Conaway, Middlebourne, West Virginia, for Conaway, *The Conaways of Marion and Tyler Counties, West Virginia*.
- W. J. Coulter, Washington, D. C., for Coulter, "Westbrook Family History" (four volumes).
- Frank E. Dixon, La Grange, Illinois, for Dixon, "Dixon and Northup Genealogies."
- Dudman Printery, Macomb, Illinois, for: Bennett, *Descendants of John and Rachel Lynch Bennett*; Ruebush, *The Ancestors and Descendants of David Ruebush, 1752-1951*.
- Lloyd Espenschied, Kew Gardens, New York, for *Portrait and Biographical Record of Madison County, Illinois*. (Chicago, 1894); Pabst, *Our Ancestors in Their Native Rhineland*, Part II.
- Mrs. Charles W. Fisher, Winnetka, Illinois, for Hopping, *History of the Hopping Family*.
- Mrs. Pearl Tulpin Forrester and Julia E. Tulpin, Springfield, Illinois, for Forrester and Tulpin, *Descendants of William Aiken (Akin, Atkin, Adkin, Eakin) and Allied Families*.
- Nadine M. Getz, Baltic, Ohio, for Getz, *We Would Remember. A Near Complete Genealogical Compilation of the Mollat Immigrants of 1833 and 1851*.
- P. C. Haggman, Denver, Colorado, for Haggman, *The Ancestry and Lineage of Swan Anton Haggman*.
- Owen Hannant, Chambersburg, Illinois, for Hannant, *A Preliminary Survey of the Hannant Families*.
- Roger S. Hecklinger, Baltimore, Maryland, for Hecklinger, "The Descendants of John Boreing, Maryland Planter."
- Mrs. L. B. Herrin, Chicago, Illinois, for Herrin, "Exclusively Yours, Eurilla."
- Mrs. H. Wayne Hill, Decatur, Illinois, for Hill, "Hill, Webb, Daugherty, Spires."
- James William Hook, New Haven, Connecticut, for Hook, *Capt. James Hook of Greene County, Pennsylvania*.
- Mrs. Clayton Howe, Mansfield, Illinois, for Lamb, *A Short History of the Thomas and Elizabeth Lee Lamb Family in England and America*.
- George Howe, Mansfield, Illinois, for Warren, *Family History of Samuel and Catherine Howe, Mansfield, Illinois*.
- Illinois State Library, for Owen, *Genealogy of the Descendants of Daniel Owen, Jr., of McHenry, Illinois*.

- Mrs. May Tibbetts Jarvis, San Diego, California, for Jarvis, *Henry Tibbetts of Dover, New Hampshire and Some of His Descendants*.
- J. E. J. Jurry, Voorburg, Netherlands, for Jurry, *Genealogie van het Geslacht Jarry, Branche de Hollande van 1405 tot 1953*.
- W. S. Keese, Chattanooga, Tennessee, for Keese, *Keese Family History—Southern Branch*.
- Donald Campbell Little, Kansas City, Kansas, for Little, *Descendants of Col. John Little, Esq. of Shrewsbury Township, Monmouth County, New Jersey*.
- Virgil V. McNitt, New York City, for McNitt, *The Mac Naughtan Saga* (two volumes).
- Cecil E. Megginson, Eureka, Illinois, for Megginson, "History of Ralph Megginson and his descendants."
- Dr. Harold I. Meyer, Chicago, Illinois, for Meyer, *Rogers-Ward-Shipman and Allied Families*.
- Dr. William T. Moffett, Blue Mound, Illinois, for three rolls of microfilm records of the Moffett family.
- George Abbot Morison, Peterborough, New Hampshire, for Morison, *Nathaniel Morison and his Descendants*.
- Frank A. Myers, Shaker Heights, Ohio, for Scott, *Genealogy of the Coffinberry Family*.
- Andrew J. Provost, Jr., Darien, Connecticut, for Provost, "The Hendrickson Family of Long Island, New York." Parts I and II.
- Wassell Randolph, Memphis, Tennessee, for Randolph, *Henry Randolph I (1623-1773) of Henrico County, Virginia and His Descendants*.
- Mrs. Juanita C. Rebman, Macomb, Illinois, for Rebman, "The Ungers, Descendants of Cyrus Unger and Eli Unger."
- LeRoy Reeves, Washington, D. C., for Reeves, *Ancestral Sketches*.
- Louis Obed Renne, Menlo Park, California, for Renne, "Van Nattans of Sangamon County, Illinois."
- Haviland Ferguson Reves, Detroit, Michigan, for Reves, *The Reves Family*.
- Mrs. Laura Milford Rife, Cairo, Illinois, for Claypool, *A Genealogy of the Descendants of William Kelsey* (three volumes).
- Harold Kenneth Sage, Normal, Illinois, for Sage, *The Jonathan Sage Family, Descendants of David Sage*. . .
- Walter R. Sanders, Litchfield, Illinois, for Sanders, "Settlers in Montgomery County, Illinois previous to 1840." (This is a typewritten manuscript. It is also printed in the *National Genealogical Society Quarterly* beginning June, 1951.)
- John W. Shuman, Santa Monica, California, for Shuman, "The Family Tree of Benjamin Franklin Shuman (1838-1890)."
- Wayne C. Temple, Urbana, Illinois, for Cutter, *The Brooks Family of Woburn, Mass.*
- Julia Tulpin, Springfield, Illinois, for excerpts from "The Descendants of William Taylor and his Wife, Anna Wilson of Lawrence County, Pa." . . . Additional Data . . . Furnished by Dr. Walter S. Taylor, Springfield, Illinois, 1951.
- Anna Daneke Ward, Baltimore, Maryland, for Ward, *Ancestral Families of the Wards*.

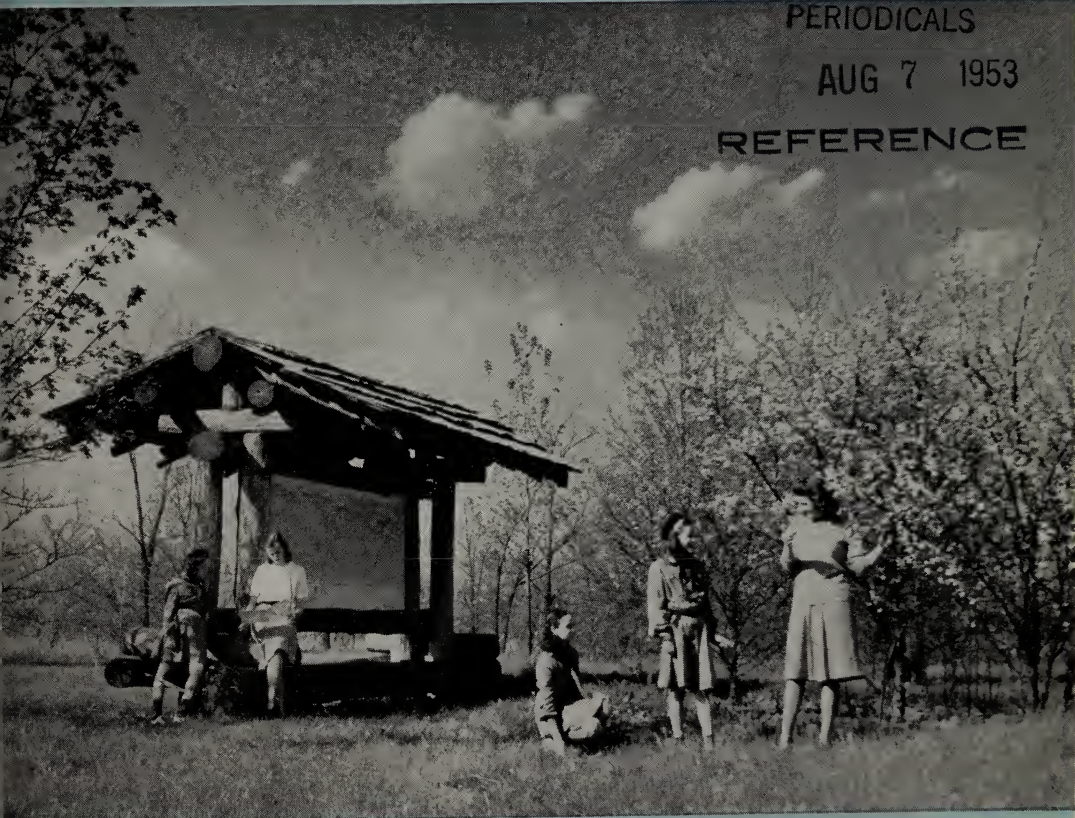
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JAMES GARFIELD RANDALL

1881—1953

BY HARRY E. PRATT

JAMES GARFIELD RANDALL, one of the nation's outstanding scholars of the Civil War and of the life of Abraham Lincoln, died in Urbana, Illinois, February 20, 1953. Dr. Randall was born in Indianapolis, Indiana, June 24, 1881, the son of Horace and Ellen Kregelo Randall. He received his bachelor's degree from Butler University in 1903, and from the University of Chicago, the degrees of master of arts in 1904 and doctor of philosophy in 1911. In the latter year he was married to Edith L. Abbott, a fellow-student at Butler University, who died in 1913. On August 21, 1917, he was married to Ruth Elaine Painter, daughter of Dr. F. V. N. Painter, professor in Roanoke College, Salem, Virginia, and author of widely used books on English and American literature.

Dr. Randall taught at Illinois College at Jacksonville and at the University of Michigan before he took his doctor's degree; then in succession he taught at Syracuse University, Butler University, Roanoke College and Richmond College. He was a Harrison research fellow at the University of Pennsylvania, 1916-1917. During summer sessions he taught at these universities: Duke, Chicago, Pennsylvania, Columbia, Harvard, and California at Los Angeles. He received honorary degrees from Butler (LL.D.) and Washington and Lee (Litt. D.), and the Lincoln Diploma of Honor from Lincoln Memorial University in 1946. He was elected a member of the Gamma chapter of Phi Beta Kappa in 1933.

Dr. Randall joined the history faculty at the University of Illinois as an assistant professor in 1920, became an associate professor in 1924 and a full professor in 1930, and retired in 1949. He was a popular and beloved teacher. His outstanding work was in graduate seminars, where his quiet personality, deep understanding and constant encouragement, along with his sincere enthusiasm for the nation's great heritage, carried over to each of his students. They eagerly took up, at his suggestion, subjects in adjacent fields of Lincoln study.

Among their studies of Lincoln's associates were those of Noah Brooks, by Wayne C. Temple; Orville H. Browning, by Maurice G. Baxter; David Davis, by Harry E. Pratt; Anna E. Dickinson, by James Harvey Young; Adam Gurowski, by LeRoy H. Fischer; William H. Herndon, by David Donald; Ward Hill Lamon, by Lavern M. Hamand; and Lyman Trumbull, by Ralph J. Roske. Other related subjects were studied, such as "Lincoln's Own State in the Election of 1860," by H. Preston James; "The Lincoln-McClellan Presidential Election in Illinois," by Paul G. Hubbard; "Lincoln as President Elect," by William E. Baringer; "The Supreme Court During the Civil War," by David M. Silver; "The United States and Great Britain, 1861-1865," by Martin P. Claussen; "Recruitment and Conscription in Illinois During the Civil War," by Aretas A. Dayton; "The Illinois Central Railroad in Peace and War, 1858-1868," by Robert M. Sutton; "Pardon and Amnesty During the Civil War and Reconstruction," by J. T. Dorris; "The G. A. R. and Civil Service," by Paul Joseph Woods; and "Divided Loyalties in Southern Illinois During the Civil War," by Jasper W. Cross. In appreciation of Dr. Randall as a teacher and friend, a group of his graduate students published several of his articles in 1949 under the title, *Living with Lincoln and Other Essays*.

Dr. Randall gave generously of his time as an officer and director, and is the only man who has been president of the Illinois State Historical Society (1945-1946), the Mississippi



JAMES GARFIELD RANDALL IN HIS STUDY

Valley Historical Association (1940-1941), and the American Historical Association (1952).

Dr. Randall was a "special expert" with the United States Shipping Board, 1918-1919, and a member of the Virginia War History Commission, 1919-1920. He was on the federal Public Archives Commission, 1926-1931.

From 1937 to 1951 he was an active director of the Illinois State Historical Society. He was also a director of the Abraham Lincoln Association of Springfield, Illinois, from 1943, and was a member of the editorial advisory board of the nine-volume edition of *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln* (the title was his suggestion) published by the Association in 1953. "Lincoln and the Governance of Men" was the subject of his address at the annual meeting of the Association on February 12, 1951.

The forecast of Dr. Randall's future study and writing was seen in the title of his Ph.D. thesis at the University of Chicago, "The Confiscation of Property During the Civil War." The seven volumes he published in the ensuing years all dealt with the three interrelated subjects, Lincoln, the Civil War, and Reconstruction. A complete bibliography of Dr. Randall's writings (excepting book reviews, which appeared in leading periodicals and are of permanent value) is given on pages 128-31.

Upon examination one is struck by the significant output of a college professor who always came freshly prepared to class, and who gave so much of his time and thought to counsel his graduate students. His *Civil War and Reconstruction*, a successful college text for fifteen years, was revised in 1953. One of the major source works on Lincoln is the *Diary of Orville Hickman Browning*, Quincy lawyer and friend of Lincoln, who succeeded Stephen A. Douglas in the United States Senate in 1861. Volume one was jointly edited with Theodore C. Pease, and the second volume by Dr. Randall alone.

In 1936 he published a widely known article, "Has the Lincoln Theme Been Exhausted," answering the question with an emphatic "No." Many claims had not been staked out and other fields only partially tilled. Dr. Randall said that "Lincoln is an easy subject for one who merely writes 'another book' about him." But difficult problems faced the serious writer on the Lincoln subject:

The historian must hew to the line in treating Lincoln material. . . . Not only must he be free from party and sectional bias; he must be innocent of the hero tradition. . . . Lincoln should not be exempt from critical historical treatment . . . and hero-worship should not be the path of approach. Let all the truth be told. . . . Interpretation, if it is to be historical, must be tied down to foundations.

These standards Professor Randall followed in his best known work, *Lincoln the President*, the first two volumes, *Springfield to Gettysburg*, published here and in England in 1945. In his preface he noted that in "Lincoln's presidency the themes are so challenging, the source material so massive, the problems so complex, that re-examination and rewriting have become a necessity in our time." To Dr. Randall the writing of history was strict and exact, and an "uncommon effort is needed to disengage reality from the accumulated deposit which the years have brought." In writing his biography of the Civil War President he did not rewrite other biographies of Lincoln, but took the "basic material out of which history must be shaped (much of it in manuscripts never published and hitherto unused for this purpose), to discard the irrelevant or unhistorical, and to show the result."

Biography to Dr. Randall was more than "clothes and buttons." In *Midstream*, his third volume in *Lincoln the President*, he gives close-up views of the canny Lincoln handling prima donnas like Horatio Seymour, Horace Greeley, Clement Vallandigham, and the vain generals. Lincoln was a lonely man in the White House, harassed by office seekers and political generals, with whom he exercised patience, tact and diplo-

macy, and never lost his gift of laughter. The last chapter, a profile of the President entitled "This Strange, Quaint, Great Man," will delight all who share Dr. Randall's interest in Abraham Lincoln.

In May, 1953, Columbia University announced that J. G. Randall's *Midstream* had been awarded the Loubat Prize of \$1,000 "for the best work printed and published in the English language on the history, geography, archaeology, ethnology, philology, or numismatics of North America during the five-year period ending January 1, 1953."

The Walter Lynwood Fleming Lectures in Southern History at Louisiana State University were delivered in 1945 by Dr. Randall. These four lectures were published in a small volume entitled *Lincoln and the South*.

More than fifty articles from his pen in historical publications are noted in the bibliography on pages 128-31. Starting with the biographical sketch of John Calhoun in volume three of the *Dictionary of American Biography*, there are eleven more biographies, in succeeding volumes. The longest biographical account in the *D.A.B.* is the seventeen pages on Lincoln contributed by Dr. Randall, which is considered by many the best concise biography. He also wrote articles on subjects related to the Civil War for the *Dictionary of American History*.

Lincoln the Liberal Statesman was dedicated "To Carl Sandburg." Dr. Randall's article, "Carl," written in November, 1952, was printed in the Winter issue of this *Journal*. His admiration and friendship were deep for the poet-biographer who came for a last chat and visit three days before Dr. Randall's death.

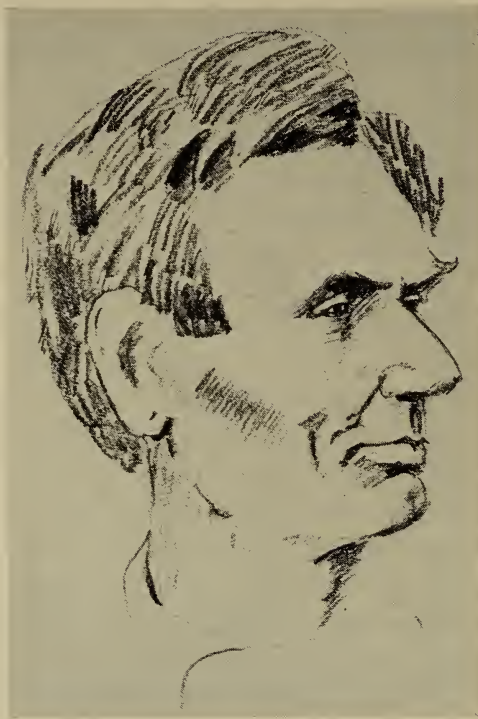
The story of the married life and united interests of James and Ruth Randall is written into their book dedications. His *Constitutional Problems Under Lincoln* was dedicated to her. When the first two volumes of *Lincoln the President* appeared, they were "To Ruth, whose unfailing help and interest il-

luminated the labor of these pages." He had wanted to use a certain cherished dedication involving a "Rebel" in his *Civil War and Reconstruction*, but the publishers thought otherwise, and it was dedicated to his parents. So, as he playfully said, he would have to write a book in which he could use it, and *Lincoln and the South* was dedicated "To the Beloved Rebel who abides with me." *Midstream* told of a coming event by the inscription, "To Ruth Painter Randall, biographer of Mrs. Lincoln," and when that biography appeared it was "For Jim." Their collaboration in *Lincoln the President* produced the chapter, "The House on Eighth Street" in volume one, and the invaluable Appendix to the second volume, "Sifting the Ann Rutledge Evidence." Mrs. Randall then turned her attention to the study of Mrs. Lincoln, and the warm response to her articles in the *Abraham Lincoln Quarterly* and the *New York Times Magazine* encouraged her in further study, resulting in *Mary Lincoln: Biography of a Marriage*, which was on the "best seller" lists at the time of Dr. Randall's death. In this book Mrs. Randall acknowledged that her "greatest debt" was to her husband who had been "her guide through the jungle paths of historical research" and that "without his generous backing this biography would not have been written."

The apartment at 1101 West Oregon Street, where the Randalls lived from the time they moved to Urbana, was a welcome haven for graduate students and visiting alumni. Many will recall the Sunday night suppers with the delicious scrambled eggs—the Southern fried chicken dinners with biscuits prepared by the faithful Caroline—and the ice cream float dessert. Fun and good fellowship abounded at the apartment on Oregon. Dr. Randall tended his flower garden in the rear of the apartment building with loving care, and many a bouquet graced the mantel. Each year he eagerly awaited the choice bulbs which would come to him from Holland, and was pleased when visitors praised the tulips which stood proudly on the familiar round dining room table, or the multi-colored

pansy faces which greeted one during commencement season.

Another of Dr. Randall's recreations and talents, which he manifested throughout his life, was the making of portraits



ONE OF DR. RANDALL'S MANY PENCIL
SKETCHES OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN

in pencil, water color and oil. He was only twelve when he painted a small portrait of Lincoln. In the portfolios of sketches are some made on a Paderewski concert program, on a University Club napkin, or on drawing paper of "Bambi" the household cat snoozing in its special chair or perched on the porch railing. In his younger days he had taken canoe trips on the rivers in Indiana and sketched the beautiful scenery. There were also sketches and paintings of the mountain at Salem, Virginia, and of various haunts holding

happy memories for Jim and Ruth Randall.

After Dr. Randall's retirement in 1949 he worked at home in a study lined with books and dozens of black boxes filled with three-by-five card notes made in the country's repositories of Civil War and Lincoln manuscripts. By February, 1953, he had completed nine chapters of the fourth and final volume, *Last Full Measure*, of *Lincoln the President*, and had dictated the outline of chapter ten to Wayne C. Temple, his capable graduate assistant since 1949.

Illness prevented Dr. Randall from attending the meeting of the American Historical Association in Washington, D. C., his presidential address, "Historianship," being read at the annual dinner on December 29, 1952, by his University of Illinois colleague, Arthur E. Bestor, Jr. Aware that the months were numbered, his address had been prepared by October, making possible its publication in the January, 1953, issue of the *American Historical Review*.

Dr. Randall was buried in Mount Hope Cemetery which is today "on campus," bounded by the stadium, fraternity houses, "Ag" buildings and the University golf course.

Dr. Randall defined the ideal historian in words that all his students and readers would like to consider autobiographical:

[The historian] is—or we hope he is—oriented in time and space. He is not limited—this ideal historian—to his own province or to a narrow present. He has reasonableness, loyalty, conviction, appreciation of human values. He has a training that sharpens his perceptions. From tested evidence, he recognizes the many-sidedness of historical interpretation. He has understanding that guards against unenlightened or partisan argument.

The Senate of the Sixty-eighth General Assembly of Illinois on March 10, 1953, adopted a resolution in tribute to Dr. Randall.¹ The world shares with Illinois in the loss of a great Lincoln scholar, who himself embodied so many of the fine

¹ Senate Resolution 23 offered by Senators James W. Gray and Everett R. Peters reads:

"Whereas, James Garfield Randall was a member of the faculty of the University of Illinois for thirty-two years, and

"Whereas, Professor Randall was a noted author of many books and was a recognized authority on President Abraham Lincoln, and

"Whereas, Professor Randall was an educator of the highest type and an outstanding example of selfless devotion to learning, and

"Whereas, During his long career at the University of Illinois, Professor Randall earned the love and respect of his colleagues and students; and

"Whereas, Professor Randall's tremendous contribution to the culture and learning, of the people of the State of Illinois will be long remembered; therefore, be it

"Resolved by the Senate of the Sixty-eighth General Assembly of the State of Illinois that we learned with profound regret of the recent death of Professor James Garfield Randall, and that we express our deepest sympathy to his bereaved widow, and that a suitable copy of this resolution be forwarded forthwith to Ruth Painter Randall."

characteristics and qualities of Lincoln himself. But Dr. Randall would not wish us to grieve: "It is for us, the living, rather, to be dedicated here to the unfinished work" of the inexhaustible Lincoln theme.

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THE STARS AND STRIPES OF ILLINOIS BOYS IN BLUE

BY EARLE LUTZ

RESEARCH in the unexplored field of Civil War soldier journalism indicates that the Illinois boy in blue, being an amateur at the game of war, carried a printer's "shooting stick" as part of his paraphernalia instead of the marshal's baton each of Napoleon's grenadiers is reputed to have had stowed in his knapsack. It also indicates that he was not slow to begin his "shooting"—that he was the first to write, set up and print a regimental or camp newspaper.

Illinois soldiers were identified as publishers of twenty-six of some three hundred scarce unit newspapers, many of which no longer exist, and too, they hold priority, by the slim margin of nine days, to the patriotic title *Stars and Stripes* so popular with the men of World Wars I and II and Korea.

The earliest known surviving number of a printed Civil War camp newspaper is the May 6, 1861 copy of the *Camp Register*, published at Camp Defiance, Cairo, Illinois, and now in the Illinois State Historical Library. Its four nine-by-twelve-inch pages carried no serial number but the editorial text and the dates on some of the advertising indicate that there may

Earle Lutz, born in Glassboro, New Jersey, has been a resident of Richmond, Virginia, since boyhood. He served in both World War I and II and is the author of four books: *The 110th Infantry in World War I*, *A Richmond Album*, *Richmond in World War II*, and *29th Infantry Division and Fort George G. Meade*.

have been one or more earlier issues. The New-York Historical Society has the issue of June 13, 1861.

The *American Volunteer* is probably the second oldest Civil War soldier publication extant. A single issue was published in Missouri on May 21, 1861 by Company A, Fifth Regiment of Missouri Volunteers. It consisted of one printed page on the reverse side of the *Jefferson County Herald* at De Soto. The *Pennsylvania Fifth*, a more pretentious newspaper was issued at Alexandria, Virginia, on June 10. About this same time Confederate soldiers at Camp Semmes, near Brunswick, brought out the *Georgia Regimental Journal*, no copy of which is known to have survived. Still earlier the First Alabama Volunteers issued a hand-lettered manuscript newspaper on February 23, appropriately titled the *Pioneer Banner*. A second issue followed on April 20, and both have been preserved in the Alabama Archives.

Thus, North and South, there was born a new journalistic enterprise—the newspaper produced by the soldier for the soldier. In no sense were the official and unofficial gazettes—American, French and British—of the Revolution, or the dozen semi-military newspapers that followed Generals Scott and Taylor into Mexico, publications in the same category.

The Illinois soldier-editor-printer plied his trade in the District of Columbia, and in Illinois, Kentucky, Arkansas, Kansas, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana and Missouri. At Bloomfield in the latter state on November 19, 1861, members of the Eighteenth Illinois Volunteers went to press with the first *Stars and Stripes*. Nine days later Union inmates of the Parish Prison at New Orleans laboriously produced another *Stars and Stripes* by pen. Before the war ended there were three more soldier publications bearing this patriotic title. Copies of the five *Stars and Stripes* are extremely rare. Of the Bloomfield issue only the copy at the Clements Library of the University of Michigan has been located.

Just as rare are many other Illinois soldier newspapers.

Of the *Cavalier*, published "as often as convenient" at Jacksonport, Arkansas, in May-June, 1862, no copy has been found. This was a product of the Ninth Cavalry Volunteers with Samuel B. Davis, an Ohioan, as the publisher. After the war Davis was editor of the *McComb Herald* in Ohio, and the *Republican* in Knox, Indiana. In getting out the first number of the *Cavalier*, Davis ignored the shelling from a Confederate gunboat, but fled with the still damp copies of the paper under his arm as gray-clad cavalymen dashed into the town. This little paper, according to Edward A. Davenport's *History of the Ninth Regiment Illinois Cavalry Volunteers* (p. 259), was "a source of much amusement and some little financial success to the self-assumed proprietors."

At Camp Barker in the nation's war-confused capital another Illinois unit, the McClellan (formerly Barker's) Dragoons on March 5, 1862, published *The Dragoon*. This organization from Chicago was commanded by Major Charles W. Barker. M. H. Kenaga of Kankakee and Leander Colt of Niagara City, New York, were the editors and Gabriel B. Durham of Kankakee was local editor. The press was loaned by Charles Murray, who was connected with the government printing office, and the *National Intelligencer* furnished the materials at low cost. The Washington, D. C., Public Library and the Henry E. Huntington Library have the only two known copies of *The Dragoon*.

Illinois units brought out at least three newspapers in Alabama, two in the dying days of the Confederacy. The first was the *Union Herald*, which came off the press at Athens on May 24, 1862. Its publisher was Lieutenant William Quinton, who had printed the *Zouave Gazette* in Kentucky. No copy of the *Union Herald* is known to exist. However, the *Battery Reveille* mentioned its new contemporary, and "Pugnacious," a correspondent of the *Providence Journal* also reported that the first number of the *Union Herald* "came out today" and described the paper as a semi-military journal de-

voted to the arts, science, literature, military news and the general welfare.

The Ninety-fifth Illinois Infantry published a single issue of the *Observer* at Greenville, Alabama, on April 21, 1865, and followed it shortly afterward with the *Opelika Union* at Opelika. No copy is known of the *Observer* but the Wisconsin Historical Society is the holder of the only listed number of the *Opelika Union*. Both papers were utilized to acquaint residents of the occupied area with the new conditions facing them, particularly in regard to the Negro. The *Observer* had the distinction of having been published by both Union and Confederate soldiers as well as by its civilian owners. It was originally a Pensacola, Florida, enterprise. The printers all enlisted in the early days of the war, and when the proprietor received an important message of President Jefferson Davis he appealed to the military commander for assistance in printing it. Volunteers stepped from the ranks, and the twelve men marched to the printing office where they soon set the type and printed the largest edition in the paper's history. When Pensacola fell the *Observer* was moved to Greenville where eventually the Union forces took possession of the plant.

Illinois soldiers published four newspapers in Kentucky. At Columbus, Sergeant H. L. Goodall, Company D, Second Illinois Cavalry, published the *War Eagle* in 1862-1863. None of the first volume apparently exists, but the Illinois State Historical Library has copies of three of the five known surviving numbers (June 13, 20, 27) of the second volume, the Wisconsin Historical Society has July 4, and the Chicago Historical Society has September 26. The *War Eagle* was printed at first on a Foster press, but with the beginning of the second volume a new Hoe Washington Imperial press was put into operation. In 1864 Goodall moved to Cairo where he resumed publication of the *War Eagle*, which in 1866 became the *Times*.

William Quinton, who later published the *Union Herald* in Alabama, had just been promoted to second lieutenant when

he brought out the first number of the *Zouave Gazette* for the Nineteenth Illinois Zouaves on October 30, 1861, on the press of the Elizabethtown (Kentucky) *Democrat*. William B. Redfield, a correspondent for the *Chicago Evening Journal*, assisted by Lieutenant Lyman Bridges, edited the paper. The mechanical staff consisted of William J. Ramage, J. H. Haynie, J. L. Handy, N. B. Robinson, T. H. Dawson and Ed Archibald, compositors, and Charles H. Wright, pressman, with William H. Christian and W. E. Wells, assistant pressmen. On January 8, 1862 "the last number for some time" was published at Bacon Creek. The Historical Society of Pennsylvania has four numbers of the Elizabethtown *Gazette*, and the American Antiquarian Society has another, while the only known holder of a Bacon Creek issue is the Chicago Historical Society. Quinton later accepted a regular army commission and retired in due time as a brigadier general.

The *Union Picket Guard* and the *Soldiers Letter of the Ninety-sixth Illinois* were the other two papers published by Illinois troops in Kentucky. The first named was issued weekly at Paducah in the "late establishment of the *Paducah Tri-Weekly Herald*," the first four experimental numbers being thrown out as feelers. The two surviving copies do not list the editors or publishers, but the *Philadelphia Inquirer* on September 16, 1861, said that "this neat little sheet is being issued by members of the 9th. Illinois Infantry Regiment and the Chicago Light Artillery." The title of the other paper names its backers. Captain George Hicks was the editor, and the first issue came out on November 28, 1862. It was printed in the plant of the former *Kentucky Press* at Harrodsburg, and the run of 2,500 copies was on newsprint brought from Cincinnati. The only known copy is in the Illinois State Historical Library.

Possibly the best known of all Civil War newspapers, the famed wallpaper edition of the *Vicksburg Daily Citizen*, issued when that city fell to Grant on July 4, 1863, was an Illinois product—the Eighth Illinois (Oglesby) Regiment having

furnished the printers. Using the type already set for the July 2 number of the *Citizen*, the soldiers inserted a derisive paragraph. This idea was not original, as it had been done more than a year before on the *Newbern Progress-Extra* by a Massachusetts soldier-printer. Also wallpaper had been used previously in lieu of newsprint. Only the Library of Congress and the American Antiquarian Society have originals of the Vicksburg wallpaper edition, but the reprints are as numerous as those of the famous *Ulster County* (New York) *Gazette* of January 4, 1800.

Just one Illinois soldier newspaper has been found in Louisiana. It was called *Unconditional Surrender Grant* and was the product of the One Hundred and Thirtieth Illinois Regiment at New Iberia. This also was a wallpaper product, and the known dates are October 24 and 31, 1863. The publishers, Sergeants Thorp and Whitlock, were probably E. T. Thorp, former publisher of the *Centralia* (Illinois) *Commercial*, and John A. Whitlock, former owner of the *Marshall* (Illinois) *Journal*.

Possibly the most unusual Illinois soldier newspaper was the "Secesh Eradicator" which was pen-lettered by members of the Eighty-fifth Illinois Volunteers near Brentwood, Tennessee. The editor, "Bayonette," is believed to have been Hospital Steward James L. Hastings. While the twelve-page paper was being prepared a local raid by the Confederates made it necessary for the staff to take up their muskets—the editor himself had to stop in the middle of his lead editorial. One copy of this manuscript paper is owned by Lincoln College, Lincoln, Illinois. Whether humorously or erroneously it is dated April 35, 1863.

One newspaper produced by Illinois soldiers not only has not been located but not even its name is known. According to Private Frank W. Tupper, of the Fifty-third Illinois Infantry and later of the Fifteenth Illinois Cavalry Volunteers, it was issued about August 8, 1862, at Jackson, Tennessee. In a letter

to his father Tupper reported that General John A. McClermand had suppressed the paper after the first number because he did not think it advisable to have a newspaper published by irresponsible persons. The private enclosed a copy of the paper to be presented to the editor of the *Mogul*, which was presumably a paper published near Seneca, where the soldier had enlisted. He considered it noteworthy that "the soldiers got it up, printers, in a town placed in the circumstances such as this one is."

The *Union Banner*, published July 31, 1862, at Bolivar, Tennessee, was "edited by Uncle Sam and published by his boys." B. A. Radford of the Seventeenth Illinois Infantry has been identified as one of the writers. The only known copy is in the Illinois State Historical Library.

Members of the One Hundred and Twelfth Illinois Mounted Infantry shared with the Eighth Michigan Infantry the honor of publishing the *Athens Union Post* at Athens, Tennessee. Among the printers was Sergeant Edwin Butler (later second lieutenant), postwar editor of the *Stark County* (Illinois) *News*. Copies of the only issue located, September 17, 1862, are owned by the Library of Congress and the Western Reserve Historical Society, Cleveland.

Lem M. Lusk, George Mitchell and Frank Stanley brought out ten numbers of *The 83rd Illinoisan* at Clarksville, Tennessee from March 17 through May 19, 1865. A complete file—unique among soldiers' papers—is in the Illinois State Historical Library.

In addition to the *Stars and Stripes* at Bloomfield there were seven Illinois soldier newspapers published in Missouri. It was hoped that one of these, the *Camp Prentiss Register*, brought out by the typographical corps of the Fiftieth Illinois Regiment at Chillicothe, would become a general camp newspaper. Among the printers were Thadeus S. Clark, Norman Hazen, A. Giese, H. Seeley and Ed Riley. The name of the editor was omitted, but it may have been Clark who had been

a co-owner of the *Hancock Democrat* at La Harpe, Illinois.

No copy of the *Illinois Sixteenth*, published in Livingston County, Missouri, has been found. But the *Clinton Journal*, organ of the First Kansas Infantry, on July 4, 1861, made "its bow" to the Illinois publication which, it said, "offers this sentiment, 'The Craft, proverbially patriotic, may its members never lay down the *shooting stick* nor give over the *chace* of the rebels until every *impression* made by treason is destroyed.' "

Another "unfound" soldier newspaper was the *Proclamation* issued by the Fourteenth Illinois Infantry either at Tipton or Otterville, Missouri, in December, 1861. James Dugan in his *History of Hurlbut's Fighting Fourth Division* mentions Ely F. Chittenden as "editor and proprietor of that spirited camp-journal the *Proclamation*" (pp. 82-83). Chittenden was postwar editor of the *Charleston* (Illinois) *Plain Dealer*.

The *Normal Picket* was published weekly at Ironton "by the boys" of the Thirty-third Illinois Volunteers. The issue of January 1, 1862 (Vol. 1, No. 1) is in the Clements Library. It was edited by Edward J. Lewis, former editor of the *Bloomington Pantagraph*, and the compositors were Charles D. Crumbaugh and Richard B. Fulks. The only two other known numbers are those of January 15 and February 12, 1862. The *Picket* was named for Illinois State Normal University.

The American Antiquarian Society has the only known copy of the *Advance Guard* published August 28, 1861 at Fredericktown by the Seventeenth Illinois Volunteers. And a single copy of the *Illinois Fifty-second*, published at Stewartsville on January 15, 1862, is owned by the Illinois State Historical Library. The editors of neither of these papers are known, but the publishers were L. F. Cleaveland, J. M. Thornton and E. F. Furnald, who was probably Edward Furnald, former co-owner of the *St. Charles* (Illinois) *Argus*.

The *Weekly Van Guard*, established at Ironton on January 20, 1862, had as its publishers J. M. Sheets, who was later owner and editor of the *Paris* (Illinois) *Republican*, and S. B.

Wade and E. E. White. The editor was Lieutenant J. L. Bowman. The paper, a copy of which is in the Illinois State Historical Library, was the organ of the Twenty-first Illinois Volunteer Infantry and there may have been only one issue.

Last among the Missouri papers was *Our Regiment* published at Rolla by typos of the Thirteenth Illinois Volunteers. While no copy has been found, publication is verified by a contemporary account in the *Chicago Tribune*. Also a humorous communication dated "Headquarters Heavy Mud Infantry, Camp Rolla, July 17, 1861" and signed by "G. N. L. [General?] Scotty" is reprinted in Frank Moore's *The Civil War in Song and Story* (p. 152).

The Seventeenth Illinois Cavalry shared with the Forty-eighth Wisconsin Infantry the sponsorship of *The Plains*, published at Fort Larned, Kansas, "for soldiers of the United States service stationed on the border." No editor was named but Bugler C. P. Ober, of the Seventeenth Illinois, was one of the compositors. The press and other equipment had been purchased in St. Louis out of a \$300 fund raised by subscription. One page was left blank for the convenience of letter writers. Only the first number, dated November 25, 1865, survives. The Kansas Historical Society and the Illinois State Historical Library each have a copy.

Typos of the Thirty-sixth Illinois Regiment probably had ambitions to publish a paper at Rolla, Missouri, in the fall of 1861. A dispatch to the *Philadelphia Inquirer* reports that the soldier-printers of the Fourth Iowa and the Thirty-sixth Illinois regiments "are organizing a printers union." Regimental histories, however, do not mention the incident, nor do they report publication of a paper.

Doubtless there are other Civil War papers of the Illinois soldier waiting to be found. It is hoped that this article will stimulate a search for them. The writer has built up a checklist of more than three hundred titles but he would like to add to this bibliography before it goes to the printer.

ILLINOISANS' CIVIL WAR CAMP NEWSPAPERS

PAPER	ARMY UNIT	WHERE PUBLISHED	COPIES LOCATED
<i>Advance Guard</i>	17th Inf.	Fredericktown, Mo.	Aug. 28, 1861
<i>Athens Union Post</i>	112th Mounted Inf.	Athens, Tenn.	Sept. 17, 1862
<i>Camp Prentiss Register</i>	50th Inf.	Chillicothe, Mo.	Nov. 11, 1861
<i>Camp Register</i>	Camp Defiance	Cairo, Ill.	May 6, June 13, 1861
<i>Cavalier</i>	9th Cav.	Jacksonport, Ark.	None
<i>Dragoon</i>	McClellan Dragoons (12th Cav.)	Washington, D. C.	March 5, 1862
<i>83rd Illinoisan</i>	83rd Inf.	Clarksville, Tenn.	March 17-May 19, 1865 (Complete)
<i>Illinois 52nd</i>	52nd Inf.	Stewartsville, Mo.	Jan. 15, 1862
<i>Illinois 16th</i>	16th Inf.	Livingston Co., Mo.	None
<i>Normal Picket</i>	33rd Inf.	Ironton, Mo.	Jan. 1, 15, Feb. 12, 1862
<i>Observer</i>	95th Inf.	Greenville, Ala.	None
<i>Opelika Union</i>	95th Inf.	Opelika, Ala.	June 1, 1865
<i>Our Regiment</i>	13th Inf.	Rolla, Mo.	None
<i>Proclamation</i>	14th Inf.	Tipton or Otter- ville, Mo.	None
<i>"Secesh Eradicator"</i>	85th Inf.	Brentwood, Tenn.	April "35," 1863
<i>Soldiers Letter of the 96th Illinois</i>	96th Inf.	Harrodsburg, Ky.	Nov. 28, 1862
<i>Stars and Stripes</i>	18th Inf.	Bloomfield, Mo.	Nov. 19, 1861
<i>Unconditional Surrender Grant</i>	130th Inf.	New Iberia, La.	Oct. 24, 31, 1863
<i>Union Banner</i>	17th Inf.	Bolivar, Tenn.	July 31, 1862
<i>Union Herald</i>	19th Inf.	Athens, Ala.	None
<i>Union Picket Guard</i>	9th Inf. and Chi- cago Light Artil.	Paducah, Ky.	Oct. 30, 1861, March 27, 1862
<i>Vicksburg Citizen</i>	8th Inf.	Vicksburg, Miss.	July 4, 1863
<i>War Eagle</i>	2nd Cav.	Columbus, Ky.	June 13, 20, 27, July 4, Sept. 26, 1863
<i>Weekly Van Guard</i>	21st Inf.	Ironton, Mo.	Jan. 20, 1862
<i>Zouave Gazette</i>	19th Zouaves (19th Inf.)	Elizabethtown, and Bacon Creek, Ky.	Oct. 30, Nov. 7, 23, 31 [sic], Dec. 6, 1861, Jan. 8, 1862
_____	53rd Inf.	Jackson, Tenn.	None

THE INDIAN LIQUOR TRADE AT PEORIA—1824

BY JAMES W. COVINGTON

DURING the second decade of the nineteenth century the tide of white settlement pushed its way into the northern part of Illinois. Swarms of land-seekers moved up the Illinois River and made their homes in the area between the Illinois and Mississippi rivers. Many of the frontier people came from Virginia, Kentucky and Tennessee and their way of life was a sharp contrast with the ways of the New Englanders who had migrated from Ohio.

The section occupied by the settlers was a most fertile one. The soil was rich bottom land, and there was an ample supply of timber along the banks of the beautiful streams to fill the various needs of the frontiersmen. Indeed, this area was a paradise for the lazy and the ambitious, the corrupt and the upright, the dirty and the clean.

Various treaties were made with the Indian tribes that inhabited Illinois in which the Indians surrendered their titles to the land and agreed to move west of the Mississippi River. Unfortunately, no definite permanent home was promised to the Indians and no definite time was set for their movement

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from Illinois. The period between white settlement and Indian removal was one in which we see much of the greed of the white settlers and the passive spirit of "warriors without weapons."

The sale of whiskey caused much of the trouble between the whites and the Indians. An Indian would trade all his possessions for a portion of much-diluted spirits. More and more Indians turned to heavy consumption of whiskey when their days of glory were gone forever. The Indian agents tried to stop the sale of whiskey, and thus, prevent the trouble that might result. This task seemed almost impossible since many of the pioneers sold liquor to the Indians at a very great profit. The following letters describe the conditions at Peoria and along the Illinois River, and show how difficult it is to enforce a law that is being violated by numerous persons.

The first letter in the series is from Superintendent of Indian Affairs William Clark to Secretary of War John C. Calhoun. Clark relates the background of the problem and his investigation of the matter.

ST LOUIS MAY 10TH 1824¹

SIR

For the purpose of obtaining full and correct information in relation to the statements and complaints made by James Fulton² of Peoria, and the cause of difficulties which have existed between the whites and Indians of the Illinois river, to enable me to report in compliance to your instructions of the 10th of November last: Mr. Forsyth the Indian Agent (who speaks the language of the Indians) was ordered to ascend that river as high as the Pottowatomie Towns above Peoria lake, his report and letters on that subject, I have the honor to inclose herewith, will show the true cause of complaints, and the character and dispositions of both whites and Indians in that quarter.

By such information as I have received it would appear that the causes of complaint from Peoria have arisen mostly from the sale and use of spiritous

¹ William Clark to John C. Calhoun, May 10, 1824, Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, National Archives, *Peoria, 1824*, hereafter cited as B.I.A., *P.*, 1824. William Clark accompanied Meriwether Lewis on their famous exploring expedition to the Pacific coast, 1803-1806. He was later appointed Superintendent of Indian Affairs and had his headquarters at St. Louis, Missouri.

² James Fulton was the first sheriff of Peoria County. He was indicted for allowing a condemned Indian murderer to escape.

liquor, and I have reasons to believe that the Sub Agent[']s loss of popularity with the settlers about Peoria arises from his anxiety to prevent, and opposition to the sellers of ardent spirits to the Indians.

In relation to the continuance, removal, or abolishing of that Sub Agency, I must beg leave to give as my opinion that no change is necessary at this time. That Sub Agency will be more conveniently situated at Peoria to be useful both to the government and to the Indians than any other point, during the continuance of the Pottawatomies at their villages where they are now established, Those villages (of the tribe of Pottowatomis of Illinois river) are within the reservation of Military bounty lands, when that tribe can be induced to move to the land on the northern boundry of the state of Illinois which has been assigned to them and the Kickapoos & Delewares bands who are yet remaining in Illinois are removed to the west of the Mississippi.³ That Sub Agency will no longer be usefull at Peoria.

Mr. Forsyth received at Peoria the inclosed remonstrations and about twenty depositions of small injuries complained of by the inhabitants of that neighbourhood, most of which he considered as of but little consequence.

The Sub Agent is instructed to investigate those complaints and to afford such redress as the causes m[a]y require

I have the honor to be
Yr Mo Obt Sevt
WM CLARK

Indian Agent Thomas Forsyth found it easy to find evidence of liquor trade between the whites and the Indians, but he noted in his first letter that it was difficult to secure any evidence which might be used in court:

Extract of a letter dated Peoria 9th April 1824 to Genl Wm Clark Supt of Ind Affrs from Thomas Forsyth Ind Agt.⁴

It is truly shameful that such quantities of whiskey are sold and traded with the Indians on this river, almost every settlers house is a whiskey shop, and will buy from the Indians the most trifling articles for whiskey and when spoken to on the subject the Whiskey seller will say prove it and the Justice will fine me. I have not herd of but one Trader who has sold whiskey to Indians and when I spoke to him about it he told me I might commence an action against him as soon as I pleased and if I could prove that he sold whiskey to any Indians the law would punish him for so doing.⁵

The information of whiskey selling to Indians I procure from the Indians

³ The land lying between the Mississippi and Illinois rivers was reserved for veterans of the War of 1812. This section was known as the Military Tract. The Kickapoo and Delaware tribes were scattered over a wide range of territory at this time.

⁴ Thomas Forsyth to Clark, April 9, 1824, B.I.A., P., 1824, copy.

⁵ The evidence was consumed.

themselves therefore no proof can be had. It appears to me that nearly all the settlers from the mouth of the river up to this place sells whiskey to Indians. Some miles up spoon river there is a distillery and I am told whiskey is retailed there to Indians in any quantity

Forsyth made his report concerning his Peoria trip and sent the document to Clark. This account shows that Thomas Forsyth made a careful investigation into the situation, and it also presents the problem that the United States government faced in attempting to control the liquor trade:

ST. LOUIS 25TH APRIL 1824⁶

SIR

In compliance with your instructions of the 9th ultimo: I ascended the Illinois river as high as Peorie and have the honor to report to you as follows—

On my way up the Illinois river, as also on my arrival at Peorie, I enquired where the Potowatimie Chiefs were to be found, and was informed that all the Indians in that Country were dispersed in different directions a hunting and making sugar.⁷ Immediately [I] sent off runners inviting the potowatomie Chiefs and Braves to come and see me, accordingly after waiting several days the principal men of the nation arrived to whom I communicated your instructions. The Potowatomie Indians were very thankfull for the interference of their American Father to settle the existing differences between them and the Delewar Indians and also agreed I should be u[m]pire between them and the Delewares when met together in Council. On the day following, I sent Mette⁸ my Interpreter accompanied by a young Potowatomie Indian, with a letter of invitation from me to the Delewar Chiefs and the young Potowatomie with Wampum to the same Chiefs for same purpose, requesting them in the name of their Great Father the President to come forward to Peorie and settle in my presence their existing differences with the Potowatomie Indians. Mette was absent eight days and on his return reported to me that he had seen the principal Chief of the Delewares at Keg Grove, to whom he delivered my letter and the Potowatomie Chiefs Wampum and had my letter explained to the Delaware Chief. This Chief told Mette he with his people would be at Peorie in two days after he (Mette) would arive at that place I accordingly waited thirteen days after Mette arrived but heard nothing of the Delewares coming towards Peorie and I have every reason to suppose that the Delewares have been prevented from coming forward throug intoxication as a Delaware woman had gone into the

⁶ Forsyth to Clark, April 25, 1824, B.I.A., P., 1824, copy.

⁷ The Algonquin Indians made sugar from maple sap before the coming of the white man.

⁸ Jacques Mette had been at Peoria before 1812.

settlements to exchange sugar for whiskey a day or two previous to Mette's arrival at the Delaware Chiefs camp.

The day of my departure from Peorie I called the Potowatomie Chief & Braves together, and spoke to them in rather a harsh manner concerning the complaints of the Inhabitants living in the environs of Peorie.

I was answered by one of the Chiefs at some length, who said for his individual part he had not committed any depredation against any white people, nor had he a knowledge of the like been done by any other Indians except a Potowatomie Indian named Chingaw who stole a horse belonging to a man named William E Phillips,⁹ which Indian and horse were both dead but observed at same time, that some of the Indians may have taken some corn and Potatoes out of the fields belonging to the Inhabitants at times. This same Indian went on to say, that at a place called the Grand Mascotin on East side of Illinois river and many miles between Peorie, he saw a white man killing hogs, and from his manner of acting he had reason to believe that the hogs he was killing did not belong to him, that he (the Indian) went to the settlement and acquainted the people of what he had seen; the people from the settlement came down towards the River, and found this whiteman had killed fourteen large hogs, belonging to the settlers near the Bluffs, at another place near Apple Creek this same Indian said he saw a White man kill and embark on board of his canoe about twenty hogs which he (the Indian) believing to have been stolen hogs, that the high waters this spring had drowned many hogs and horn cattle, and that it appeared (to him) (the Indian) that when any Whiteman lost any property of any discription the Indians are blamed for committing depredations on the property of the White people. That all quarrels between the White people and Indians proceeds from the great quantities of Whiskey traded to the Indians by the White people for the most trifling articles. The same Indian requested that you would stop the Transportation of such quantities of whiskey from been sent up the Illinois and the same Indian requested of the Inhabitants (many being present) not to sell so much whiskey to Indians and every thing would go on well between the White people and Indians.¹⁰ In a private conversation I had with Chamblee [Shabonee] an Ottawa Chief, he said he regretted much that any misunderstanding should exist between the White people and Indians, and [he] said, Whiskey occasioned much trouble among all people, and hoped that the White people would not trade so much whiskey to Indians and then every thing would be peace and quietness. On strict enquire on my part I could not find out that the Indians have committed so much depredations on the property of the Inhabitants at and near Peorie as complained of, some corn potatoes, melons cucumbers and some other vegetables have been taken, but in my opinion not to a very great amount. I was very well informed by a White man at Peorie that upwards of one

⁹ William E. Phillips was the first coroner of Peoria County.

¹⁰ The Indians handled themselves with great dignity in this situation.

Thousand hogs were drowned by the high waters in that vicinity and many of the Inhabitants think the Indians have killed all the hogs that are missing.

I cannot see the reason why, that the Inhabitants who reside in the environs of Peorie are so inimical to Mr. Latham¹¹ as Agent, they all agree he is a good honest and generous man, but they say, "we do not want an Agent here" and it is my opinion (and I told some of the Inhabitants so) that they wished no Agent near them, so that they might carry on their Whiskey Trade with the Indians to a greater extent. I also give it as my opinion to some of the Inhabitants of Peorie that if they continued to trade whiskey with the Indians I should not be surprised if murder would be committed between them and the Indians, and that shortly. During my stay at Peoria two Indians and one Squaw was killed, one Indian and one Squaw unmercifully beaten and one Indian had his nose bit off, all this was done among the Indians themselves while intoxicated with whiskey. Among the papers sent you last autum by the Inhabitants of Peoria there is one from a certain Mr. Moffat¹² who complains of having been robbed of his property by Indians on his way up the Illinois river above Peoria, the enclosed certificate of the resident Interpreter will explain what discription of property Mr. Moffat lost on that occasion. I was informed by one of the Inhabitants, that nine tenths of the people who reside in the environs of Peoria trades Whiskey with the Indians.

As respects James Fulton the following is his character as told to me, by a kinsman of his "J Fulton" says my informant "is a man of bad principals, he meddles with every persons business but his own, abuses every person even his own wife & children, calling his wife & daughters bad women publickly and to strangers. Indeed in a conversation I had with James Fulton I found much truth in the information I had of his character, for he told me that the frontier settlers were a bad disc[r]iption of people, mere vagrants" in telling me this; he made no exceptions and as a matter of course, I took it for granted that he included himself and family among the vagrants he now lives under a solitary shed alone, atho his wife and six or seven children (all men and women grown lives in the neighbourhood, and furnishes him occasionally with provisions and some articles of clothes he boasts much of his correspondence with the President, the Secty of War, Genl Jackson and many members of Congress and says he is in daily expectation of letters from Washington City.¹³

The Country in the vicinity of Peoria is generally of Praire and along the water courses only is to be found good timber, but if the Inhabitants living near the Illinois river continue to cut and raft down timber to this place as they have done (and continue now to do d[a]ily) in a very few years a good log of timber will not be found near any water course where timber

¹¹ James Latham was formerly of Sangamon County.

¹² Moffat might have been Joseph Moffat who moved into the area in 1822.

¹³ It would appear that Fulton suffered from a mental disease known as paranoia.

can be floated away. Several large rafts are now on their way down the Illinois to this market and more preparing. A very handsome bottom of land opposite Peoria and which was full of good timber five years ago is now totally ruined.¹⁴

I have the honor to be

Your Obt Sevt

THOMAS FORSYTH

As a supplement to his report, Forsyth wrote another letter to Clark on the following day in which he attempted to give a summary of the situation.

ST LOUIS 26TH OF APRIL 1824¹⁵

SIR

Previous to my departure from this place for Illinois river, you requested on my return to give you my opinion whether the Indian Agency now at Peoria ought to be placed elsewhere or done away entirely or to remain where it now is at Peoria.

Peoria is a central situation and if the Agency is removed or done away entirely the Indians will always visit Peoria¹⁶ and if there is no Agent at that place the Whiskey sellers will accomplish their wishes and murder must ensue between the Inhabitants and Indians.

The Indians are very well acquainted with the clauses in the Treaty of 1816 wherein they have the use of the lands they sold untill wanted for actual settlers, also that they shall have a Blacksmith to do their work and also that they shall not receive their annuities¹⁷ higher up the Illinois than Peoria. In a private conversation I had with Chamblee, an Ottawa Chief some days ago at Peoria, he said the Indians had a right to hunt on the lands sold to the United States in 1816, and also said, that if the annuities are given at Chicago, the annuities will be so mixed that the little they now receive individually will become still less when divided with the Indians from Millwakee and Fox River. It is therefore my present impression, that the Agency be continued at Peoria as the Agent will be able in some measure to restrain the inhabitants from selling so much whiskey to the Indians and also prevent the Indians from being imposed on by the White people if no Agent is at Peoria you will be daily troubled with complaints against the Indians by the Inhabitants, and the expences of sending messengers to the Indians in that quarter, as also paying for depredations completely proved

¹⁴ Many Potawatomi and Ottawa Indians were not removed from Illinois by as late as November, 1838.

¹⁵ Forsyth to Clark, April 26, 1824, B.I.A., P., 1824, copy.

¹⁶ Peoria had been the site of Indian homes for many years. The white settlers moved into the area in 1819.

¹⁷ Annuities were the annual payments of articles, services and money which were given to the Indians in exchange for their land. The exact amounts were stated in the treaty terms.

whether comitted or not by the Indians, that it will exceed the present salary of the Agency, Interpreter & Blacksmith.

Yr Obt sevt

THOMAS FORSYTH

In order to strengthen the reports made by Forsyth, William Clark included in the packet of letters sent to Calhoun a statement dictated by Joseph Ojai. This testimony was written by some unknown person and signed by Ojai with an X since he could not write in English.

STATE OF ILLINOIS¹⁸

FULTON COUNTY

I Joseph Ojai Interpreter in the service of the United States for the Indians residing on the Illinois River do hereby certify that I have lived at this place (Peoria) as an Interpreter two years in next Month, that Moffat and others came armed to my house and said they would kill a Potawatamie Ind. then with me named Ke-wa-Ke-tow for Stealing vegitables out of a garden, the Indian said that a Whiteman gave him liberty to take a water-melon out of the garden that was all he took, about thirteen months back Mr. Moffat set out from this place in company with one of his sons in a canoe with two Kegs of Whiskey as I understood to sell to the Indians up the River, that I understood from Indians at two or three different times, that Moffat had sold Whiskey to the Indians at two or three different places above this, and while the Indians were drunk they took the remainder of the Whiskey from said Moffat. I also certify that the same Mr. Moffat sold much whiskey to Indians and purchased for s[ai]d whiskey from the Indians Horses, Rifles, Blankets, Dressed deer Skins, Mats &c. That a man named Mr. Daugherty¹⁹ went up to the Indian Village at the head of the Lake in a canoe taking with him a Barrel of Whiskey to sell to the Indians. I understood that after the Indians were intoxicated with whiskey they received from Daugherty they (the Indians) took the remainder of the whiskey by force and drank it the above happened in June last.

The same Daugherty bought a horse from a Potawatamie Indian in the summer 1822 giving the Indian a Rifle and some whiskey in part payment, according to promise, the Indian called on Daugherty for the Whiskey due him. Daugherty refused to pay the Indian, he Daugherty having sold said Horse to a nother Whiteman. When a quarrel ensued, and I do verely believe had I not been present murder would have been committed. I also

¹⁸ Statement of Joseph Ojai, April 19, 1824, enclosed with letter of Clark to the Secretary of War, copy.

¹⁹ Samuel Dougherty was in the first American party to reach Peoria Lake in April, 1819. He was fined \$10 for selling liquor to the Indians.

Certify that in June a Barrel of Whiskey came from Abner Eads's²⁰ House and taken on board of a canoe by Indians, Which Whiskey was drank near my house. I was told by Indians that A. Eads give this Barrel of Whiskey for a Horse, and I saw the horse as described to me by the Indians in possession of A. Eads, it is said that A. Eads bought the above mentioned Horse for a man named Smith.

I never heard from any Indians that they committed any depredations on any property belonging to any White People, except a hog that was killed belonging to A. Eads by an Indian named Ke-no-jai who was a particular friend of Eads' and the Indian immediately told A. Eads what he had done. I verely believe that nine tenths of the inhabitants in the environs of this place sell whiskey to Indians for any articles that they may have such as Sugar, Skins, Furs, Clothing, Knives &c.

his
Joseph X Ojai
Mark

²⁰ Abner Eads was elected sheriff of Fulton County. Peoria was attached to Fulton County, 1824-1835. Eads later served in the Black Hawk War.

THE HAPPY SOLDIER

The Mexican War Letters of John Nevin King

EDITED BY WALTER B. HENDRICKSON

PART II

JOHN NEVIN KING, the nineteen-year-old soldier whose home was on Lick Creek, near Berlin, Sangamon County, Illinois, liked army life during the Mexican War. By the time the Fourth Regiment of Illinois Volunteers reached the Rio Grande he sometimes acted as clerk for Captain Achilles Morris and had begun to fulfill his father's hopes that he would get ahead in the world. From Camargo, John wrote:

You stated in your letter that you would like me get some office or other, perhaps assistant commissary, but I never have spoken either to Col. Baker or the Captain on the subject, but while I was fishing yesterday, Capt. Morris called me and told me when I went to him that he wished me to go up town with him and do a little writing for him. I put on a clean pair of pants, a shirt and Uniform Coat and started on my business. While going the Captain commenced and told me he had been watching my attentiveness to duty and said he wished before long to make me a corporal. A corporal gets one dollar a month more than a private and on going home receives \$8, perhaps more than a private. He also said Col. Baker wanted him to do so before now, but since most of the officers in our company are from Lick Creek he thought the men would think him partial if he made me a corporal.

Furthermore he said he would appoint me Orderly Sergeant if the office was vacant before he would any of the other men, either non commissioned officers or privates. Henry M. Spotswood is orderly Sergeant. I will not accept the office of corporal but if I can get to be orderly Sergeant I will do so. The Orderly gets 16 dollars a month, and ranks next to Lieutenant. I think Spotswood will run for 1st Lieut as our 1st Lieut. Oliver Dufendorf resigned

This is the concluding installment of "The Happy Soldier" edited by Walter B. Hendrickson, professor of history at MacMurray College, Jacksonville, Illinois. Part I appeared in the Spring, 1953 issue of this Journal.

and I suppose is in Springfield at this time.⁴² Our 3rd Lieut, John D. Foster from Lick Creek has resigned and will leave here on the first Steam Boat.⁴³ I think when he leaves we will elect H. M. Spotswood 1st Lieut and in that way I may step up in his office.⁴⁴ I mess with him. He is a fine man and he thinks as much of me as I do of him. I make out all our Muster Rolls and assist him a great deal. I do nearly all Capt. Morris' writing. . . .

Since we have been here (Camargo) 6 of our company have died. Among the number is Jacob Morris and Milton Morris.⁴⁵ Both had the measles and was getting along very well but owing to exposure which was unnecessary they took Cold and died.

I see General Patterson pretty often but never had an introduction to him yet. At present we are under his command and awaiting orders. In a few days we expect to march, (on foot back) to Tampico and take that place. It is only 300 miles from here. We will march only about 10 miles per day, and will get there in December. When that is taken we are to march to the City of Mexico and take that, and we suppose that will be or rather put an end to the Mexican Revolution.⁴⁶

At about the same time that John was preparing to march to Matamoras and on to Tampico, he wrote to Eliza Denniston (his aunt, but a little younger than himself), in Pittsburgh:

I have been in this place camped on the edge of town for little better than two months, and the Lord only knows how soon we may leave, for I dont, but we expect soon to leave for Matamoras and then prepare for a march of some several hundred miles to Tampico where I hope the Illinois volunteers may have a chance to *extinguish* themselves or distinguish, either will suit. We have not had any hard times yet in our campaign, but get along remarkably well when we take all things into consideration. Tis true we have burried many friends, and fellow soldiers, but we came (a good many of us) to die, but we dont know who will come next, perhaps it may be my time if

⁴² Neither Spotswood nor Dufendorfer is mentioned in Power, *Early Settlers of Sangamon County*. In *Record of the Services of Illinois Soldiers . . . in the Mexican War*, there are no first lieutenants listed and Oliver Dufendorfer is not named at all in the roster of Company D, Fourth Regiment.

⁴³ This is not noted in the *The Record of the Services of Illinois Soldiers . . . in the Mexican War*, but Power, *Early Settlers of Sangamon County* names a John E. Foster, who died at Virginia, Illinois, on his way home from Mexico.

⁴⁴ Apparently this did not happen, because in the *Record of the Services of Illinois Soldiers . . . in the Mexican War*, Spotswood is listed as having gone on furlough to the quartermaster's department on May 1, 1847.

⁴⁵ According to the *Record of the Services of Illinois Soldiers . . . in the Mexican War*, of the 91 officers and privates of Company D, Fourth Regiment, 12 died, 22 were discharged for disability, and two deserted.

⁴⁶ To David King, Camargo, Nov. 8, 1846. The Third and Fourth Illinois Regiments were to become a part of the army headed by Gen. Winfield Scott to whom had been assigned the task of taking the capital city of Mexico. The First and Second Regiments had been sent on to join Gen. Zachary Taylor, and so were engaged in the decisive battle for northern Mexico at Buena Vista.

so I am content as I know I will die in a good cause. In a cause which many of our best and bravest men have died. But there is one thing certain, None of us will die until our time comes, be that sooner or later. . . .

We have endured a great deal since we left Sangamon, but who cares, we are soldiers getting seven dollars a month and plenty to eat and drink and be merry, so who cares for expenses, Landlord give us a Tom and Jerry. We get plenty to eat plenty of good hard crackers baked in the time of the old Revolutionary war and well preserved for us. Occasionally some fine flour when the bugs are sifted. Lots & gobs of pickled pork and Bacon, salty as the deuce, once in a while some devilish good Beans, pickled onions, cabbage and to cap all *Sour Crout* to which I pay particular attention to. We also get some coffee and sugar, and very seldom some *pastry*. Such we have been living on and I am now larger fatter and heartier than any time in my life before.⁴⁷

This was, of course, a somewhat different story from what John told his father, and certainly he was trying to impress his girl relative, but there was no bitterness in it. In fact, John welcomed hardship; to bear it well and lightly was the masculine thing to do.

The camp routine at Camargo was broken when the Fourth Regiment, along with other units, was ordered to Tampico. John wrote:

We left Camargo on the last day of November for Tampico as we thought. Col Baker left with us bound for Washington City but as our boat run aground and the Corvette caught up to us he got on her, but soon after we got off and passed her as she was on a bar. In this way we beat Col Baker to Matamoras and we only stoped there a few minutes and pushed off. If we had have waited until the Corvette had come there we would not have come to this place as the Ballance of our Regiment stoped there (6 companies). Whether we will go back there now or ship here for Tampico is uncertain, but in all probability we will return to Matamoras and then march through by land to Tampico. I am still enjoying excellent health.⁴⁸

It was decided to go to Tampico by land through Matamoras and Victoria. It was on this march that John began to act as clerk for the quartermaster's department, and he did so well that he determined to go after a permanent post with

⁴⁷ Camargo, Nov. 28, 1846.

⁴⁸ To David King, Mouth of the Rio Grande, Texas side, Dec. 5, 1846.

Captain Robert Allen, Quartermaster of the First Division. He told his mother:

if we can so arrange my getting a Discharge from the Army I can get \$30.00 per month for writing for Qr Master Capt Robert Allen. Out of the 30 per month I must board and clothe myself. . . . If I succeed in going with Capt Allen you kneed not expect me home when my year ends. I long to see you all but I can learn a great deal here from Capt Allen.⁴⁹

Of course John could not receive a discharge without considerable red tape, but he was given a thirty-day furlough, to be renewed periodically until his year's enlistment expired, so that he could work for the quartermaster. John said,

To day Capt Allen bought me a Mustang (Mexican horse) saddle & bridle. We start in the morning for Tampico. I have not volunteered, as you see, for nothing. I will now learn something and be very well paid for it & when I leave Capt Allen, I will be prepared to go into a store, but I dont make any calculations on leaving him Short of twelve months at least.⁵⁰

From this time on John King was only technically subject to military discipline. Really he was a civilian employee of the quartermaster's department. He was even detached from the Illinois brigade and was now with the First Division under General David E. Twiggs.⁵¹

On his mustang, and no longer a soldier in the ranks, John missed much of the hard work the infantry had to do in cutting a road from Victoria to Tampico. As he said, "The road . . . is very bad, having to cross mountains and their surface [is] covered with rocks. . . . I dont suppose a waggon ever went from Tampico to Victoria, as most of the road we have travelled was merely a mule path." On January 22, the army camped just three miles from Tampico, and John reassured his mother that he was well, and added feelingly that good health was one of the greatest blessing which man had. He also told

⁴⁹ To Sarah Anne King, Victoria, Jan. 10, 1847.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

⁵¹ Maj. Gen. David E. Twiggs was a regular army officer, and commanded the First Division under Gen. Taylor until he was attached to Scott's army. Twiggs was military governor of Veracruz, Dec., 1847 to March, 1848.



JOHN NEVIN KING'S TRAVELS IN MEXICO

her that he was living on oranges. "Yesterday I got 5 for a pickayune & to day only 4, but in town you can get 8 or 10 for a fip. Lemons grow wild, I saw bushels of them on the ground. . . ."⁵²

John was pleased with himself in his new position. To his surprise, Captain Allen arranged to pay him at the rate of \$2.00 a day. He drew \$52 for his work in January and paid his

⁵² To Sarah Anne King, Victoria, Jan. 10, 1847. A picayune was a small copper coin; a fip was a "fipenny bit," a small silver coin.

mess bill of \$20. With his pocket full of money, he spent \$4.00 for two shirts, \$2.50 for a cap, "five bits" for two pairs of socks, \$2.50 for two pocket handkerchiefs, and \$2.00 for a black silk handkerchief, and he planned to buy a pair of pants and a coat with the remainder. He told his brother:

I dont think I have made much of a *greenhorn* of myself in coming to Mexico. I have learned a great deal since my volunteering. I suppose Father will think I am "coming out" when he reads this. I think I am doing mightily. Dont you[?] . . . My first step in business for myself, and getting Seven hundred and thirty dollars a year, and a horse, saddle & Bridle, also a darky to cook for us. We live very well here, getting everything the market affords.⁵³

The letter continues:

We are camped about 3 miles from Tampico. In Town they have a theatre which they call the American. I was there once. The farce was the Two Georginis [?]. It was played very well. Mr & Mrs Hart from New Orleans are the principal actors. . . . Tampico is a very pretty town and a very clean place, about six miles from the sea or Gulf, on a river.

General Scott has not arrived here yet, but a great many suppose he will not come here, but will go on with the troops he has under his charge to Verra Cruz and attack that place. It is supposed we will go to Puebla and have a skirmish there, as it is a very large place having about between 40 and fifty thousands inhabitants.⁵⁴

John King's good friend, Captain Achilles Morris, was taken ill at Tampico, and as he did not get better, John hoped that he would ask for a discharge and get back home. But before this could be arranged, Morris died, of what disease John did not know. He hold his father:

He was burried to day in the Honors of war. He had a fine funeral and a very large one. Company A & part of two or three other companies were detailed to fire over his grave. There was nearly 70 men. Our company in full Uniform, Blue pants, Blue Cloth Caps and white coats marched after the Hearse in which were the remains of the much beloved Captain. Every thing was done in a proper manner. He had a very nice plain Coffin, and a large Brass Band, the band of the Second Regiment of Artillery. Many Regular Officers were at the funeral. . . .

⁵³ To Charles King, Camp Watson, Near Tampico, Feb. 3, 1847.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.* Puebla was a town halfway between Veracruz and Mexico City. The strategy finally decided upon was for Gen. Scott to capture Veracruz and then march directly inland to attack Mexico City.

As you stated that General Scott was going to Tampico, he has been a long time coming and has not yet arrived although we are expecting him daily & hourly. He will I understand take charge of all the troops in this place besides other troops who he will bring along with him. As I stated formerly we are going to Vera Cruz and making great preparations for the voyage, we could be & would be ready in two or three days notice, but we cannot move until Genl Scott arrives. . . .

A report has just arrived stating that our troops at San Lui de Potosi was attacked by Santa Anna (in person) and his troops, who sent back our parties and they fell back upon Monterey, where our Gallant Taylor was. They followed up, but was soon made to toddle when "Old Zach" went at them. The Mexicans were routed and Paradez wounded mortally, supposed. I dont know whether this be true or not but we get it from Mexican.⁵⁵ I send you a paper called the Tampico Sentinel the first paper (I mean American) but not the 1st issued. This is the 4th No.⁵⁶

John reported to his father that he was still happy; he liked his officers, he liked the climate, he liked being a clerk much better than being a soldier in the ranks. In fact he wrote, "as the Suckers would say, 'I'm doing mightily.' " But even in the midst of this very satisfying life, John wanted to hear from home. He asked his father to let him know "how our crops turned out, and how our stock look. The colts, and horses, the number of hogs on hand also about the dogs, Swift and the ballance."⁵⁷ A week later, John wrote to his Aunt Eliza, adding some details to his account of the situation at Tampico:

Col Baker has arrived from Washington city having resigned his seat in Congress & in consequence of a report which was circulating in "the States" (A phraze very common in these diggins) which was, that we were expecting an attack daily or hourly, he never went home at all to see his wife and family.⁵⁸ He is in fine spirits (sometimes ardent) and in good health. . . .

⁵⁵ Probably a reference to some of the skirmishing that preceded the battle of Buena Vista, Feb. 22-24, 1847. Paradez (Mariano Parades y Arrillaga) was a rival of Santa Anna, and a former temporary president of Mexico. He had been exiled on Aug. 24, 1846, when Santa Anna returned to Mexico, and so could not have been present. This is a good example of the garbled news that reached the soldiers.

⁵⁶ To David King, Camp Watson, near Tampico, Feb. 16, 1847.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

⁵⁸ Baker had raised his regiment and gone to Mexico, but he was still a member of Congress. While the Illinois troops were on the Rio Grande, Baker made a trip to Washington as a bearer of dispatches. In Washington he made a stirring speech

I am well pleased with my situation and will, I think keep it until June if not longer . . . although I long to see all my relations & friends & also Master Joseph Rush Hays King.⁵⁹ . . . I am well pleased with the Army and should I not go to West Point I will try and have the appointment of Lieut. Col Baker I know will use all his influence in doing any thing for me & you know he has a great influence.

General Scott has at length arrived. (Arrived on the 18th[]) & left yesterday for Lobos Island⁶⁰ where we will embark for tomorrow or next day. Some companies of the 1st Division (not ours) leave to day and we have been very busy making invoices in order to turn over our property to the Qr Master in town who will ship it for Vera Cruz when that place is taken which will be before the 9th of June.⁶¹

General Scott when here to use his phraze said we would have some "Damned hot work before many days," speaking of the anticipated attack on Vera Cruz. . . . I suppose now the Bloody Illinoisans will have a fair shake with a little scrambling and no foul play. Our men are all in good Spirits. . . .

In the Qr Ms Department we live first rate having fine *fresh, salt water fish*, wild ducks, young chickens Turkeys &c &c. Also fine Tomatoes Roasting ears and such like. My expenses here come to about half of my salary. I mess with Capt Allen & nephew Mr. Starr of Waverly⁶² who is the Capt Agent, and I the clerk. . . .

I suppose you have heard before this that the Mexicans had taken 70 Americans prisoners near Saltillo and that Cassius M. Clay and nephew of Genl Gaines [were] among the number.⁶³ It is rumored here that Santa Anna (in person) with his forces attacked General Taylor but was defeated, something has occurred at Monterey or Saltillo, as the Mexicans circulated the report themselves, but it is yet hidden from our troops in these diggings.⁶⁴

on the floor of the House in favor of vigorous prosecution of the war, a stand contrary to that of his own Whig Party. After urging that Congress appropriate more money so that the soldiers in Mexico would have adequate tentage and other equipment, he resigned his seat and hastened back to the war zone.

⁵⁹ A recently-born brother.

⁶⁰ The Lobos Islands were sixty miles south of Tampico, about eight miles off the coast, and provided a good anchorage for assembling the fleet for the transport of troops to attack Veracruz.

⁶¹ This must refer to the property of Company D, because the date, June 9, was that on which the company would complete its year's service.

⁶² Capt. Robert Allen of the regular army was quartermaster of Twigg's First Division. He served in the Civil War and afterward was made chief quartermaster of the division of the Pacific. He remained John King's patron after the Mexican War was over. Starr is identified as F. R. Starr in John King to John McConnell, Camp on the American River, near Sacramento City, July 11, 1851, and is referred to as "Squire" Starr in John King to Charles S. King, Camp Watson, near Tampico, Feb. 3, 1847.

⁶³ Capt. Cassius M. Clay of the Kentucky volunteer cavalry, was a vigorous and pugnacious abolitionist Whig, who later became Lincoln's minister to Russia. Maj. John P. Gaines, also of the Kentucky cavalry, was the nephew of Gen. Edmund P. Gaines, an elderly army officer who ended his career in the Mexican War.

⁶⁴ A reference to other skirmishes that preceded the battle of Buena Vista. To Eliza Denniston, Camp near Tampico, Feb. 21, 1847.

From Tampico, the First Division was sent by transport to the rendezvous for Scott's army at Anton Lizardo, a cluster of low islands and reefs about twelve miles south of Veracruz. It was from here that the assault on the key Mexican port was to be launched. Many of the ships had trouble in getting there because of severe winter storms—"northerers," the sailors called them. The schooner *Ella* to which King was assigned left Tampico on March 1 with the twenty-five horses belonging to the staff of the division commander, General Twiggs, and their harness and other gear aboard.

After a wait of several days for a favorable wind, the *Ella* headed south in spite of the high seas. John and many others were very seasick from the tossing about the ship received. In alternate calm and gale, the *Ella* was driven off her course far southward to the peninsula of Yucatan, and had to beat her way back to Anton Lizardo, arriving on March 22. From here John's ship ran into Mocambo Beach, three miles south of Veracruz, to discharge her cargo. At Mocambo, on March 9, General Scott had landed his main force, and deployed it for what was expected to be a long siege, since the city was protected by the supposedly heavily fortified castle of San Juan Ulúa that dominated the harbor. As the *Ella* was lying off the beach, the wind came up, and, said John,

I was awakened by the vessel jarring on a sand reef. Our 2 anchors had been put out but the wind was so severe they were not heavy enough to keep her (the schooner) out at sea, so she dragged them until she beat over one reef of sand but with many surges. The hands were all afraid she would sink as they were waiting very patiently to see some of the boards burst. At length she got over one reef and lay for some time very well, but the wind augmenting she again was moving (but slowly) towards the shore. Our Capt thought it best to slip our anchors and trust to Providence for our welfare & escape. When the anchors were let loose our bow immediately swung around & I thought she would go out farther or run on a rock which was close by so I pulled off my coat jumped overboard and swam ashore. This I dont want *Mother* or *any* person to know so dont forget concerning my jumping overboard. There was hundreds of persons witnessing the scene but could not do us any good or render any assistance whatever. I watched

our vessel for some minutes when at length she came into shore in about 4 feet [of] water, when the lifeboat was sent out and all saved. Then they sent out a surf boat & took every thing out of her. All our papers &c were saved.

The next day she was high & dry, and upwards of 30 other vessels . . . were with her some loaded with coal some with horses & mules & others with provisions. Many of them will be a *Total Loss*. . . Perhaps you have seen it stated in some papers that Ella with the Qr Master property of [the] 1st Division were lost. You need not fear we are all safe.⁶⁵

So it was that John told his young uncle, Frank Denniston,

It affords me great pleasure to seat myself (ashore) and write you a few lines. This day will be a day of rejoicing as the Mexicans have surrendered both town & castle & our troops March into their town and take possession of the place. The Mexicans have just saluted their flag and taken it down from the Flag pole.

The Mexicans opened their fire upon our men as soon as they had landed but killed only two the first day. It was on the 22d they commenced their fire but the Americans did not fire until the twenty third.⁶⁶ The loss of the Mexicans is not known but is said to have been very great. When the Americans opened their fire they tore up the city very much.

On Thursday if I recollect rightly the Mexicans came out of the Town bearing a white Flag (which was respected) & when we found out what they wanted, it was nothing more than one day to be granted them to bury their dead. General Scott granted their request. . . . (As I am writing our troops are saluting *our* Flag which is floating in the breeze over Vera Cruz.) . . . All the troops have gone to see the Mexicans leave Vera Cruz, [including] Capt Allen and Mr Starr. . . . So I will not have the pleasure of witnessing the scene as all the things are left in my charge. . . .

The sailors of the United States deserve all the credit of taking this place. They fought like men & as soon as they would throw a shell they would jump up on their batteries to see where they would light & what damage they done & in this manner they were killed. Sometimes they would catch each other & swear they would have so & so shot by holding them above their battery which was made of sand in bags. Their battery was the best & done the most execution, silencing 2 batteries (Mexican) in only a few hours.

Capt Allen with whom I am staying was in town yesterday & in the castle & is of the opinion that it was nothing but a humbug. He says knowing as much as he does now, he could have taken 3 of our men of war & in half an

⁶⁵ To Francis (Frank) H. Denniston, Camp Washington near Vera Cruz, March 29, 1847. King also wrote about his experiences to his father on March 28 and to his mother on April 2, but the letter here given is the most lively and detailed.

⁶⁶ After landing his troops and their arms, Scott planted batteries around the city. He demanded that the Mexicans surrender, but they refused to do so, and he opened a heavy bombardment of the city.

hour silence any of their batteries. Their guns were in bad order & very badly mounted.⁶⁷

There was 40 wagon loads of arms & accoutrements taken from the enemy.

The weather is very warm & the sickly season near at hand. A man in our Regt has the smallpox & the whole regt is to be vaxinated as soon as possible.

The town & castle was surrendered yesterday but upon what terms I am unable to state, but I can say that the Mexicans are to be liberated upon a Patrol [parole] of honor. . . . Generals Worth & Patterson formed in a line opposite each other & the Mexicans marched between the columns and after they had all marched out, they were ordered to stack their arms between the above mentioned Generals. There was only about 5000 soldiers. They appeared in good spirits & came out of the town laughing & smoking. Some before they stacked their arms would kiss their guns & lay them down with tears in their eyes. They destroyed nearly all their arms, & when they came out nearly all their guns were loaded. The Mexican generals cried & also one of our generals to see the sight. The loss of the Mexicans seem to be 83 Regular soldiers & nearly 200 women and children & the loss on our side I believe only 17.⁶⁸

John King noted that the enlistment of the Illinois troops was about to expire, and he congratulated himself on soon being out of the army altogether. He said, however, that he intended to stay on in the quartermaster's office, and follow the army into Mexico City.⁶⁹ As soon as possible, General Scott moved the main body of his army up out of the lowlands around Veracruz because of the danger of yellow fever. John reported that he still enjoyed excellent health, and he reassured his mother that he would take care of himself and especially he would not "go into the fight at Mexico [City] should there be one. . . . I done my duty in the field and remember I will not expose myself when there is no necessity for doing so."⁷⁰ But

⁶⁷ The military and naval high commands had based their decision to attack the town and fort from the land side, and be prepared for a siege, on the knowledge that in 1840 a strong French fleet had been held at bay by the guns of the fort. They also knew that since 1840 the size and effectiveness of the armor had been increased. They could not have known that things were in such bad repair.

⁶⁸ The officially reported loss was 19. To Francis H. Denniston, Camp Washington, near Vera Cruz, March 29, 1847.

⁶⁹ To his brother, Campbell King, Camp near Vera Cruz, April 2, 1847.

⁷⁰ To Sarah Anne King, Jalapa, May 5, 1847.

John was not a coward and he later wrote to his father in answer to a direct question:

Concerning the part I acted in the battles before the City of Mexico, I need not say that it was not very conspicuous, as I was merely a spectator and had nothing particular to do. I was on the ground at Cherubusco, and when our men fell back I went in company with Capt Wood, A. Q. M. to rally them. I was at the storming of Chapultepec and when that point was carried I assisted Capt McGowan, A. Q. M. to take two pieces of Artillery up to a position in front of the Garita. This was all that I done. I rode my horse during all the fights and was among the first of the Citizens to enter Chapultepec. All I done was done voluntarily and I was under no obligations to any one nor under any particular orders. At Contreras the Capt went into the fight and I had to take charge of the Money &c in our department.⁷¹

It seems clear that young King deliberately refrained from telling his immediate family about the fighting or anything else that might have caused them worry. Although he said little about the details of his work in the quartermaster's office, he was certainly efficient and well liked by his superiors, because his salary was raised to \$75 a month. This pleased King because it meant that he would be able to save \$40 a month and that, he said, would enable his father to pay four hired men for one month's work each.⁷² In other words, he was not interested in making money for himself, but for his family; certainly he was a very generous and dutiful son.

Meanwhile Scott's army was fighting its way up the narrow road and through the steep passes in the mountains to take the City of Mexico. King, attached to the quartermaster's department as he was, frequently came along after the heaviest fighting was over, so his comments deal with the problem of occupying former enemy territory and making it secure against counter attacks:

We left Jalapa on the 7th of May & arrived here yesterday. We were at Perote on the 10th & remained there one day. I was all around the Castle it is really a strong place and a beautiful one being situated on a plain (a grassy one) and high mountains all around it. There the nights are very cold as it

⁷¹ City of Mexico, April 6, 1848.

⁷² To David King, Puebla, May 16, 1847.

is only a few leagues from Orizaba a peak covered with snow during the entire year. The water is like Ice so cold but very unhealthy as it runs through a copper region. The 1st Regiment from Pennsylvania garrison the place. . . . Perote is a very small town not worth the name, the castle though would do credit to any city.

We arrived at Amosoque [Amosoc] day before yesterday. . . . Early on Fryday Morning the long roll was beat & when I enquired the reason why, I was informed that Sant Anna was marching to attack us with upwards of 4000 lancers. In a few minutes after all was bustle. Our batteries were taken out to the edge of town & there awaiting the arrival of one of Mexico's best & ablest warriors. Several Regiments of Infantry were ordered out. In a few minutes after, the Lancers came in sight, & not much nearer than half a mile. Our Batteries were placed in position as was all the Infantry. We opened our cannon on them & in a few minutes they scampered away, not however without leaving 9 men dead on the field. Our dragoons took one Lieutenant and four privates prisoners, with their Horses, accoutrements, & equipage. We did not lose a man but I believe one man was wounded and only slightly.

When we came into this Place there were enough Mexicans around us, as could have eaten us up, but no, we marched into the city unmolested. Puebla contains 70,000 inhabitants, 75 churches all Catholic, 7 convents for women & 5 convents for men. They also have a splendid theatre. There are about 500 priests here. The town is Quite as large as Pittsburgh, & is the prettiest place I have ever been in. The houses are generally 2 stories high & many 3. It is much prettier than any of our American towns, Cincinnati not excepted. It is much neater built, and a great deal cleaner than Cincinnati Ohio. The streets are all paved and as white as snow. From here we can see two more snowy mountains whose peaks are covered with snow the year round. The city of Mexico is only 84 miles from here. We will remain here some 20 days, until General Scott arrives. He is still in Jalapa.

Capt Allen is now Quarter Master for the 1st Division, General Worth's command, but as they are not the best friends in the world, I think when Scott and Twiggs [division] arrives, Capt Allen will apply to go with Genl Twiggs. Capt Allen may be stationed here and be Depot Qr Mr, but I hope not. He wants to go on to the city of Mexico, & establish a depot there. The people here are very good looking & well dressed. I mean the higher classes. . . .

I sent a Parrot home for Lucie by John Davis, & a Mexican Bridle Bit, and buckles, & other fixings by A. H. Smith, a sadler, who belonged to my company, & who when I was sick on the Gulf & Rio Grande, done everything for me. . . . ⁷³

We have in Possession two forts which command the whole city & should the Mexicans rise against us we can enter the forts and utterly destroy

⁷³ It is the family tradition that Lucie never received the parrot, although the bird did not die until the bearer had brought it into Illinois.

the whole city. The Mexicans are very hostile. Two Regular soldiers yesterday were stabbed one in the small of the back & on the head, the other only on the head. The former is considered mortally wounded, but the latter is very slightly. It is reported that 4 soldiers have fallen victims by their unmerciful hands. 4 have died since we have been here. It is dangerous and very much so for one or two Americans to Loiter around the city in daylight much less than at night unless armed to the teeth, for the sight of a sword or a Revolver strikes terror to their hearts.

We have all kinds of fruit here even apples, peaches & pears. The southern climate certainly is far superior to that of the North. I see plenty of Melons & every thing the heart can wish for. The Petyah is really a fine fruit & much resembles the Prickly Pear. I wish you were only here to stay a week or two you would be so well pleased with Mexico. I suppose the Illinoisans gave it a horrible name. They saw the worst part, they were only getting into Mexico when they started home, but all I dare say were well pleased with Jalapa. It is a beautiful place but this surpasses Jalapa as much as Jalapa does Camargo. I mean in beauty. . . .

Report says Santa Anna is fortifying another pass in the mountains only 2 or 3 days march from here. We are only 84 miles from the Capitol and will start for it in less than one month.⁷⁴

There are no letters from John King from May 16 to October 28, 1847. During these five months, General Scott's army continued its march on to Mexico City in the face of resistance by Santa Anna's forces at Contreras and Churubusco. Finally, after the battles of Molino del Ray and Chapultepec, Mexico City was abandoned by Santa Anna, and Scott occupied it on September 14, 1847.

After the occupation of the capital, negotiations were begun that ultimately led to a peace treaty. There was little more hard fighting in Mexico, although guerrillas harassed the Americans who garrisoned the more or less isolated outposts around Mexico City.

King's letters from October 28, 1847 until he left in July, 1848, are concerned with descriptions of life in Mexico City, and some of the problems of an army of occupation that came under his direct observation. His letters also contain much gossip about the progress of the peace negotiations, the guer-

⁷⁴ To David King, Puebla, May 16, 1847.

rillas' attacks, the court of inquiry that looked into the alleged misconduct of Generals Pillow and Patterson, and other matters which were fully covered in the newspapers of the day, especially those published in Mexico City by Americans. Not only did King digest much of this news in his letters, but he sent copies of the newspapers themselves to his father.

The young man liked Mexico City. He wrote:

Mexico [City] is one the cleaniest places I have ever been in. Every morning the streets are swept, the dirt placed in the middle of the street where it remains until a cart comes a long, when the dirt is pitched in and hauled outside of Town. Here, as in other Mexican Towns the Ladies do not walk out in the streets, & you can scarcely see one in the Morning or until four oclock in the afternoon at which time, if you look in any direction you will see all kinds of Coaches waiting at the different doors for the fair *senorittas* to take their afternoons ride. At half past four the coaches are flying in all directions and at 5 they all tend their course to the "Passa Nueva," a beautiful road leading to the Castle of Chapultepec with a large ditch and trees on either side. This road is very wide, and about a half a mile long, with two beautiful fountains in its center. Tis here every evening can be seen all the Beauties of Mexico. On Sunday afternoon there are so many coaches there that you can hardly find room to ride. Every evening you can see the English Minister & Lady in their Coach riding out to the Passa Nueva.

The Almeida [Alameda] is another resort for the gay and lively. The Almeida is about the size of our Orchard and about the same shape. With all kinds of Trees planted regularly and sown in grass. There are about ten fountains in this, and beautiful walks, paved with stone from one fountain to the other. It is really a beautiful place & I am sorry that I cannot give you a better description of it. . . .

To day Gen Scott & staff rides out to the *Penon* (pronounced pinyon) a very strong fortification which we did not care for storming on our march to this the Capital of the Mexican republic. Capt Allen accompanies the Gen in the Carriage which belonged to the Mexican Government, the Presidents coach, the finest coach in Mexico. The *Penon* is distant some five or six miles from the city. Gen Scott has visited nearly all the small places in the vicinity of Mexico.

I suppose the principal topic for all conversation at home is Peace and all are looking forward for an early and an honorable peace, but I think we are as far from getting a peace now as we were when we first sent our Army on the Rio Grande.⁷⁵

⁷⁵ To Campbell King, City of Mexico, Assistant Quartermaster's office, Custom House, Nov. 13, 1847.

Perhaps King's frequently expressed pessimism about the possibilities of peace was occasioned by the frequent clashes between the army and the native population, as in this incident:

A Mexican some days since was caught stealing something from an American, and taken to the guard house where he was kept for Trial. He was Tried by a Military Court and found guilty of the charge (stealing) & sentenced to receive One Hundred Lashes well laid on at four different periods. The day he was to be whiped was on Monday. On the first Monday of this month he was taken out in the Public Square and immediately in front of the National Pallace, and tied up to two Tent poles which were crossed on one of the Lamp posts, and received Twenty-five lashes well laid on by a Soldier. He was led out by a guard with a blanket on but when tied up the blanket was raised and he took it on his bare back. Whilst the whipping was going on the greasers (Mexicans) began throwing stones at our guard and at the Dragoons who were ordered out. The Dragoons charged through them knocking them down &c but not injuring any of them very bad. Rumor said that the next time he was whiped they would (the greasers) raise and massacre all the Yankees, and it was believed they would do so.

Monday came but we had a large guard ordered out to prevent any annoyance. Gen Smith⁷⁶ the Civil and Military governor of the City determined that if they should in any way interfere with the whipping he would punish them very severely. He therefore ordered six pieces of Artillery (six pounders) to be put in position on the plaza and each piece to be loaded two-thirds full with grape & canister & to be in readiness to fire at a words warning. He also ordered out the 2 & 7 regiments of Infy which were upon the ground. At three in the afternoon the prisoner was again escorted by a company of Soldiers to the whipping post, tied up, received [an] other 25 lashes and marched back to the guard house. The greasers did not interfere. Next Monday he again received his 25 & on the Monday following 25 more. This will be a lesson to all the Ladrones.⁷⁷

Later John reported other incidents that illustrated the clash between the Mexicans and the occupying army.

On Monday a soldier belonging to the 8th Infantry was hung for killing a Mexican woman in this city about the 25th of November. He was sentenced by a Military Commission and was strung up as they string them in the United States. Yesterday a Mexican policeman shot a Kentucky volunteer

⁷⁶ Persifer F. Smith of New Orleans led a brigade of Louisiana volunteers to the Rio Grande in 1846. He was brevetted major general for gallantry at the battles of Contreras and Churubusco.

⁷⁷ To Campbell King, City of Mexico, Nov. 13, 1847.

in the middle of the piazza and for no cause as I can learn whatever. Two Texas rangers witnessed the spectacle and would undoubtedly have killed the policeman had they not been prevented from doing so by some other soldiers of our army. The Texans are the greatest Terror to the Mexican population of any corps in the army, as they shoot them every opportunity and abuse them very meanly and sometimes I am sorry to say without a cause.⁷⁸

John was still interested in a career in the army, but he gave up the idea of going to West Point in favor of obtaining a commission in the Dragoons. But his father did not know immediately of John's new ambition:

This morning I received two letters . . . [one containing] intelligence that our Member of Congress, Mr. Lincoln, would use his influence in my behalf in obtaining for me a situation at West Point, . . . but now I am too old to go. I cannot think of the reason why you want me to go there. All that I care for now is an appointment in one of the Dragoon regiments and as I said before I should not go to West Point should I receive the appointment. I am very sorry that you put Col Baker and Mr. Lincoln to so much unnecessary trouble, but should they make application for an appointment in one of the Dragoon regiments for me I may receive that, and I must say that such an appointment is the only one that I would under any circumstances accept. I will write to Mr. Lincoln and request him to use his influence in obtaining such a commission as I have mentioned above.⁷⁹

King did very well for himself financially, because in the year and a half he was in the quartermaster's department he sent his father \$600. But he had hoped to take advantage of the situation in Mexico City to make a lot of money in a hurry:

We have another Illinoisan here his name is Canfield, his brother lives on Spring Creek. He is acting Asst Forage Master and is nice genteel fellow. . . . I did intend going home but he and myself are trying to get a contract from the Army, and if we are only successful we will make a fortune in a little time. I think we can get if we are lucky the contract to Bake Bread for Gen Pattersons Division if so we can make a \$1000 per month, apiece.⁸⁰

But nothing came of this, John reported: "I was in a fair way to get a contract by which I could make some money, but I have been disappointed as quite a number had spoken before me."⁸¹

⁷⁸ To Sarah Anne King, City of Mexico, Dec. 17, 1847.

⁷⁹ To David King, City of Mexico, April 19, 1848.

⁸⁰ To Sarah Anne King, City of Mexico, Dec. 6, 1847.

⁸¹ To Sarah Anne King, City of Mexico, Dec. 17, 1847.

John was very much disturbed because he did not get letters from home. For some reason, and John could never explain it, he received no letters from the States from June, 1847 to January, 1848. Mail service between New Orleans and Veracruz was irregular, and if and when mail did arrive in Veracruz, it had to wait until sufficient freight had accumulated to make it worth while for a military escort to be assigned to convoy a train of wagons to Mexico City. This was necessary because of the bands of guerrillas that infested the rough mountain road. The same situation existed with regard to the communication between the capital city and Veracruz. Many of John's letters, especially those containing money or drafts were carried back to Illinois by personal acquaintances. The messengers sometimes delivered the letters directly to his parents and sometimes just mailed them wherever in the States it was convenient.⁸²

In the last months in Mexico, before the Mexican and United States Congresses ratified the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, John fell into a monotonous routine. He performed the paper work of the quartermaster's office, thought about home, and waited for the day when the job in Mexico would be completed, and he could be on his way back to the United States. That day came early in July, 1848, when the American forces left the Mexican capital, travelled the rocky trail to Veracruz and took ship for New Orleans. His last letter was written from New Orleans:

Now that I have arrived in New Orleans and being out of the enemies country, I suppose that you will feel most undoubtedly much better satisfied and you can rest easy as I know your feelings exactly in relation to my being in danger. The rubicon is crossed & I hope to meet you in less than four or five weeks.

I left Vera Cruz Mexico, on board a schooner ("Blanch E Sayre") on the 1st July and arrived here yesterday. Gen Worths division I left in Jalapa and had Capt Allen remained in Vera Cruz until that division had embarked, I know not what might have happened, but he had no such idea, but started

⁸² To David King, City of Mexico, Jan. 29, 1848.

Mr. Starr & all his men as soon as he procured a transport. The Capt. remained in Vera Cruz to come on the first steamer which was bound here, but we have been much disappointed as a steamer arrived this morning without him. I learned from Capt O'Hara that he would come on the next, which will probably be here to-morrow or next day. All I am waiting here for, is to see Capt Allen and I shall probably leave as soon as I see him provided he is willing to let me go. . . .

I still enjoy good health. When I left Vera Cruz, there were only a very few cases of yellow fever, and New Orleans is very healthy. . . .

I am very well pleased with the Saint Charles house. You could not find a house like it in any part of the republic of Mexico. Since I have been here I have not met with any new acquaintances. Here as in most parts of Mexico, quite a large number of storehouses do business on Sundays. I think there is more business done here in one day than in the City of Mexico in two weeks.⁸³

John Nevin King, now twenty-one, returned from the war happy, healthy, and prosperous. It was not until February, 1912, when he was eighty-five years old that he wrote again about his Mexican War experiences. At that time he was seeking a pension for his military services and consequently was more detailed in his account. That he remembered fairly accurately sixty-four years after the events took place can be determined by comparing the rough draft of his letter to Henry T. Rainey, congressman from Illinois, with the one on page 162.

I accepted the furlough [to become quartermaster's clerk] with the promise that should I be nearby when the Regiment went into battle that I would join my Co. . . . In April [1847] the Army was encamped on and around the river Plan del Rio, [really a small town near the river Antigua, on the road to Mexico City] awaiting arrival of Genl Scott. Capt Allen occupied a church on S. bank of river. On [April] 16 whilst writing I heard the long roll beat, went to the door where Capt A was seated, looked out & saw the Regt to which I belonged on the march, and as the head passed, I took up my Rifle and accoutrements & started to join my company bidding Capt A good bye. He caught me, and said I was not now a soldier, but in Qr Mr's Dept., pleaded like a father for me not to go, said I knew nothing of war and that I might be crippled for life or possibly be killed. I said, [""]Captain, when I accepted the furlough I promised that if I was nearby my regiment when a battle was imminent, I would join my Co. If I did not

⁸³ To Sarah Anne King, Saint Charles House, New Orleans, July 9, 1848.

fulfill my promise I would be accused of cowardice, and would have to fight later["] and off I went the Capt. (Allen) saying, ["]Come back after the battle.["] I participated in battle of Cerro Gordo, and followed Army to Jalapa. . . .

I rendered a little service to the Army before entering the City [of Mexico]. Soon after the Molina del Rey battle was ended & Castle of Chapultepec taken, the troops were sheltered under the arches of aqueduct leading from Castle to City from the round shot fired from the City gates down the narrow road between the aqueduct and deep ditch. I heard an order to bring up guns to silence that at the gates. On going to Molina del Rey, I had noticed a brass piece and a wagon near by with team and teamster. I had him attach his team to the gun and follow me. We proceeded with the team & gun until we arrived along the aqueduct, until Genl Shields saw me. Ordered me under shelter and said I was risking my life & would get no credit for it. [He] ordered teamster to unhitch mules & go back to his wagon, and men were detailed to move gun by hand to position where it was wanted. I was always around where fighting was going on & my experience in Mex. War was of much value to myself in Civil war.

JOHN PETER ALTGELD AS A PUBLIC SPEAKER

BY HUBER W. ELLINGSWORTH

THE name of John Peter Altgeld is in some ways overshadowed by the men, friends and adversaries, with whom he was identified. These men included Grover Cleveland, William Jennings Bryan, Carl Schurz, Chauncey Depew, and Theodore Roosevelt. Altgeld's most-remembered public act was the pardoning of the Haymarket "anarchists" in 1893 while governor of Illinois, but he engaged in other activities of greater national significance, including his leadership of the Democratic Party in 1896, his support of Bryan in the presidential campaigns of 1896 and 1900, and his agitation for social and economic reform.

Throughout a tumultuous public life he made effective use of his ability as an orator. As a speaker, Altgeld had many obstacles, both personal and public, to overcome. To begin with, he had few physical qualities to recommend him. He was rather slight of build, with large bones, rather stooped shoulders and very short legs. His facial characteristics included a large and irregular nose, a rugged jaw, covered by a well-trimmed beard and mustache. His hair was coarse and stiff and he wore it

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closely cropped.¹ His eyes, however, were unusually expressive. He walked with a shambling gait and on the platform was somewhat awkward and jerky in movement. But when in public he was always neat and carefully dressed.²

In addition to a physique which lent itself readily to caricature, he possessed a voice which was far from flawless. Edgar Lee Masters described it as sounding "harsh, and sometimes shrill and sibilant," when Altgeld spoke in public.³ In addition he suffered from a slight harelip which undoubtedly hampered his articulation.

From Altgeld's service in the Union Army until his death, he was almost never in good health. He suffered from recurrences of "Chickahominy Fever" and from locomotor ataxia, a degeneration of the spinal cord, which made his physical activities increasingly more unco-ordinated. The burden which his health imposed inevitably appeared in his speaking. One witness stated: "He was a magnificent speaker and I'd go miles to hear him talk, but while speaking he fought against constant pain. I have seen him in a long speech in a crisis, when nearly licked by exhaustion and pain, grip the arms of a chair and go on to the end."⁴

Regardless of a speaker's ability to present logical and



JOHN P. ALTGELD

¹ Harry Barnard, *Eagle Forgotten* (New York, 1938), 18.

² Waldo Browne, *Altgeld of Illinois* (New York, 1924), 67.

³ Edgar Lee Masters, "John Peter Altgeld," *American Mercury*, Vol. IV (Feb., 1925), 161-74.

⁴ Ernest Poole, *Giants Gone* (New York, 1943), 205.

co-ordinated arguments in a pleasing manner, he must be able to convince his audience that he is qualified, morally and intellectually, to address himself to a topic. We may almost affirm, Aristotle tells us, that the character or *ethos* of the speaker is the most potent means of persuasion at his disposal. This fact created a difficult and challenging situation for Altgeld. His pardon of the Haymarket "anarchists" brought upon him a flood of abuse almost unparalleled in American history. Waldo Browne tells us that after the pardon Altgeld was the most reviled and generally hated figure in America. The attack came from all sides and in every conceivable form.⁵ Nearly as unpopular in the industrial East as the pardon was his resistance of Cleveland's attempts to use federal troops in the Pullman strike. The publications which execrated him make a distinguished list: the *Chicago Tribune*, the *New York Times* and *Sun*, the *Boston Herald*, the *New Orleans Times-Democrat*, the *Milwaukee Journal*, the *Los Angeles Times*, and the *St. Louis Star*. The newspapers were seconded by *Harper's Weekly*, *Leslie's* and *The Nation*.⁶ He was burned in effigy at Naperville, and denounced from the pulpit and rostrum in Illinois and elsewhere.

In view of his extreme unpopularity, it might seem that Altgeld would have been driven from the platform when he attempted to speak, but this was not the case. The very fact that he did such a thorough job of reporting the details of the Haymarket incident apparently convinced many of his sincerity and concern for justice. It is noteworthy that he spurned ethical appeals in his speeches, never attempting to defend the pardon and apparently trusting to thoughtful public opinion to vindicate him. Though he rose from the status of a common laborer, he used no appeals to common ground in addressing labor audiences.

Having little formal education, Altgeld also lacked train-

⁵ Browne, *Altgeld of Illinois*, 74.

⁶ Barnard, *Eagle Forgotten*, 244-47.

ing in the "elocutionary" style of delivery which characterized many of his contemporaries in the nineteenth century. Apparently he spoke with little posturing and gesturing and made no display of delivery. Newton D. Baker tells us that on one occasion, "He spoke . . . for two hours and twenty minutes to a crowded audience of about five thousand people. He made but one gesture and rarely raised his voice, but his audience was quite the most spellbound I have ever seen."⁷ In an age when audiences attended speeches as much to watch speakers as to listen to what they had to say, Altgeld formed a singular contrast by his quiet, intense delivery. Yet this does not seem to have impeded his effectiveness. A reporter of the critical *Chicago Times-Herald* said "he spoke with vigor and adroitness," and called him "an orator of ability, a man of power."⁸

The next point to be considered is Altgeld's support of arguments, or proofs. Analogy and comparison were employed rather frequently for this purpose. Altgeld's speech to the Illinois Currency Convention contained two analogies which were typical. He spoke of the efforts of the Cleveland administration to alleviate the depression of the early 1890's:

The patient had been bled until it could not stand. It was leaning up against the fence and these great financial doctors came along, felt his pulse, looked at his face and said, "Well, the right thing to do is to take a little more blood out of him."

They have been doing that and as they proceeded the patient kept getting a little weaker and weaker until finally you concluded that the line of treatment had been followed long enough and you demanded a change.⁹

In attacking what he believed to be the turncoat tendency of many Democrats in accepting Republican policies he stated, "I have heard of a good many cases of giving a beggar a horse and he will ride, but this beggar has ridden further than I ever heard of a beggar riding before."¹⁰

⁷ Allan Nevins, *Letters and Journal of Brand Whitlock* (New York, 1936), I: xxx, note.

⁸ Barnard, *Eagle Forgotten*, 383.

⁹ C. R. Tuttle, *Illinois Currency Convention* (Chicago, 1895), 40.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 41.

Altgeld relied most heavily upon illustration and example for logical proof. While some of his statements were unsupported generalizations, he drew frequently from the laws of Illinois and of the United States as points from which to argue. Some of the speeches are redundant with evidence heaped up to support points. His 1898 speech, "Crimes Against the State and Nation Exposed," is an indictment of the 1895 legislature for policies which created a deficit in the Illinois treasury in 1898. To prove his point, he cited contributing factors, complete with names and figures, for a preceding four-year period.¹¹ The same procedure is followed in a speech illustrating the evil which Altgeld saw in the operation of Chicago grain elevators. In alleging that the operators were swindling the public, he described minutely the processes of grading, storing and selling the grain.¹²

Altgeld never served in a legislative capacity and did not participate in open debate. Refutation of the statements of his opponents was carried on mostly in press conferences. Despite the heavy weight of logical proof in his speeches, he also employed considerable emotional proof. His technique here, evident in speeches to the Grange and to the Jackson Club of Omaha, was to appeal to the pride of the organization, state and simplify an economic or social need, direct indignation at those who had produced the need, and then offer his solution.

As might be expected, most of the Altgeld speeches follow a coherent pattern of arrangement. He used heavy statistical material early in the speech as a foundation, then elaborated on the facts, and considered the strongest argument last. The facts, he felt, must be garnished with epigrams.¹³ Within the speech, the points were arranged topically as well as chronologically, both separately and in conjunction. Transitions were made smoothly.

¹¹ John P. Altgeld, *Live Questions* (Chicago, 1899), 826.

¹² *Ibid.*, 828.

¹³ Altgeld, *Oratory: Its Requirements and Its Rewards* (Chicago, 1901), 34.

Apparently Altgeld's style was molded to a considerable extent by his legal training. As a lawyer he was noted for his thoroughness, incisiveness, and brilliant analysis.¹⁴ He was fond of choosing simple, direct words to convey his meaning. His grammar was not flawless, but contained no more mistakes than one might expect from a person of his educational background. The length and structure of his sentences varied considerably with the type of content. Sarcasm was often employed in attacking his enemies.¹⁵

Altgeld made use of a quiet type of humor, sometimes delighting reporters with mordant comments concerning his opponents. Clarence Darrow tells us that he kept a notebook in which he jotted story titles and humorous notes.¹⁶ The stories themselves were often of a simple and homely nature. References in a sarcastic vein are typified by the following:

It was lately suggested that the law should require the interstate commerce commissioners to shut their eyes when drawing their salary, so as to lessen the moral shock of getting something for nothing. . . .

Scores of wabbling statesmen are to-day looking through the fence into the graveyard for a burial place, because they were hit by the wrath of a deceived people.¹⁷

Altgeld prepared carefully for every speech, doing the work himself. Aware that his enemies could take advantage of him through misquotation, he commonly wrote out his speech in full and submitted it to the newspapers on the day before the speech was to be given. He was an enthusiast for copying the final draft several times in order to fix the boundaries and divisions in his mind, but he made no attempt at memorization. His mode of delivery might be described as modified extemporaneous. He did not speak impromptu if he could avoid it.¹⁸

¹⁴ Browne, *Altgeld of Illinois*, 328.

¹⁵ Tuttle, *Illinois Currency Convention*, 43.

¹⁶ Barnard, *Eagle Forgotten*, 68.

¹⁷ Altgeld, *Live Questions*, 879, 882.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 41ff.

As well as being a practicing rhetorician, Altgeld made a contribution to rhetorical theory. He carried the ideal of the perfect orator in his mind through most of his life. He told a friend that he "hoped to be an orator, and . . . worked as hard as Demosthenes to develop oratorical talent."¹⁹ Barnard informs us that in his early days he had hunted in libraries for books that would aid him in becoming a better speaker, but had found none that was satisfactory.²⁰ Evidently he found time in the last years of his life when politics was no longer his prime consideration, to read and meditate at length on oratorical theory. In May, 1901, he brought out a sixty-five-page volume called *Oratory: Its Requirements and Its Rewards*. This little book describes oratory as being the greatest art and the true orator as the most exalted of humans. In addition to purely philosophical assertions, he makes a great many practical suggestions concerning voice, gesture, speech preparation, abstemiousness, and the like. Many of his ideas suggest those of the classical rhetoricians, Quintilian and Cicero, and indeed he refers to them, as well as to Thucydides, Demosthenes, and Aeschines. In practice he was by no means meticulous in following the rules he laid down. On the night of his last speech, for example, he ate a big steak before taking the platform. Twelve hours later he died of a cerebral hemorrhage.²¹

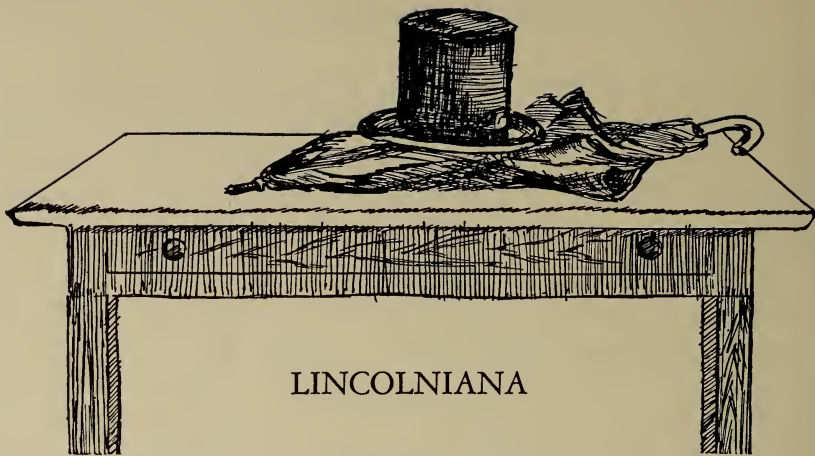
Altgeld spoke on a wide variety of subjects, almost always with the object of persuading his audience. His dominant themes were the dangers of the concentration of wealth, the need for free silver coinage, and the advantages of municipally-owned public utilities. These themes might appear singly or in combination, but he used the first most frequently. In his later years he lectured on a wide variety of social and political topics. On the night of his death he denounced from the platform the treatment of the Boers by Great Britain.²²

¹⁹ Barnard, *Eagle Forgotten*, 68.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 431.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 434.

²² *Ibid.*



LINCOLNIANA

"THE JOURNAL PAPER WAS ALWAYS MY FRIEND"

The Index to the *Illinois State Journal* of Springfield, covering the years 1851-1860, and compiled by James N. Adams of the Illinois State Historical Library staff, contains some seven hundred references to Abraham Lincoln.¹ There are only three mentions of Mary Todd Lincoln, five of Robert, the Lincolns' eldest son, and references to twenty-six cases handled by the law firm of Lincoln & Herndon.

Stories attributed to Lincoln are legion and his ability to tell a story well is beyond dispute. The *Journal* must have relished the reprinting of the following story with its reference from the Democratic newspapers, the *Illinois State Register* of Springfield and the *Peoria Transcript*, to Lincoln as "the one who is to be elected to the U. S. Senate next winter, as Douglas' successor"—four months before the State Republican convention:

THE GREAT CONGRESSIONAL FIGHT

The *Register* of yesterday copies from the *Peoria Transcript* the following good story, by one of our distinguished fellow townsmen, "the one who is to be elected to the U. S. Senate next winter, as Douglas' successor." Read it and laugh:²

When the news of the late great battle in Congress³ reached Springfield, a coterie of congenial spirits assembled in the Governor's room at the State House, for the purpose of talking the matter over. After it had been

¹ The Index of the *Journal* for 1831-1850, also compiled by Mr. Adams, includes more than 250 references to Lincoln. From 1831-1832 the paper was known as the *Sangamon Journal*; 1832-1847, *Sangamo Journal*; 1847-1855, *Illinois Journal*; and since 1855, the *Illinois State Journal*.

² *Illinois State Journal*, Feb. 26, 1858. The quotation from the *Register* starts with the second paragraph.

³ The "great battle" began on Dec. 8, 1857, when President Buchanan's message to Congress favored the Lecompton constitution and Stephen A. Douglas opposed it.

pretty thoroughly canvassed, and just as a portion of the company were about to retire, a well known ex-Congressman—the one who is to be elected to the U. S. Senate next winter as Douglas' successor—dropped in. Of course every man in the crowd desired to know *his* opinion, for he always has an original way of illustrating it.

"Well, —," said Gov. B.[issell], as the gentleman addressed familiarly doubled himself into a vacant chair, "what is your opinion of the knock down in Congress? We have just been talking it over a little."

"It reminds me," said —, "of a case I once had up at Bloomington."

"Let's hear it!" all said.

"Two old farmers living in the vicinity of Bloomington, had, from time immemorial, been at loggerheads. They could never agree, except to disagree; wouldn't build division fences; and, in short, were everlastingly quarreling. One day, one of them got over on the land of the other; the parties met, and a regular pitched battle between them was the consequence. The one who came out second best sued the other for assault and battery, and I was sent for to come up and defend the suit.

"Among the witnesses for the plaintiff was a remarkably talkative old fellow, who was disposed to magnify the importance of the affair to my client's disadvantage. It came my turn to question him:

"Witness," said I, "you say you saw this fight."

"Yes, stranger; I reckon I did."

"Was it much of a fight?" said I.

"I'll be darned if it wasn't, stranger; a right smart fight."

"How much ground did the combatants cover?"

"About an acre, stranger."

"About an acre," I repeated, musingly.

"Well, now, witness, just tell me, *wasn't that just about the smallest crop of a fight off of an acre of ground that ever you heard of?*"

"That's so, stranger; *I'll be gol darned if it wasn't!*"

"The jury," added —, giving his legs an additional twist, after the crowd had finished laughing at the application of the anecdote—"the jury fined my client just ten cents!"

If there is a better illustration of the result of the memorable conflict in Congress than the case above, we should like to hear of it. In order to be appreciated, however, one should hear — tell it. No man can "get off" a thing of the kind with more comical effect.

Nothing was known by the public of Lincoln's fourteen boyhood years in Indiana, and little incidents were eagerly sought by the press and recopied by Republican newspapers after he became a national figure in 1860.

HOW MR. LINCOLN LEARNED TO CIPHER⁴

Evansville, Ind., June 12.

There have been a great many items of interest going the rounds of the press connected with the life of Abraham Lincoln, while working on the

⁴ *Ill. State Journal*, June 22, 1860, from the *Cincinnati Gazette*.

Crawford farm, in Spencer county, about twenty-five years ago, but none of them equal the following:

Mr. [Josiah] Crawford, who visited our city a few days ago, speaking of "Abe," said "Abe" was so eager to obtain an education that, after he would get through with his day's labor, he would sit down by the light of the fire, take a board which he would make smooth by the use of a drawing knife, and on that he would write and cipher when all the rest were sleeping; when he would get it written full he would take his drawing-knife and shave it again, and so on until his board was completely used up. E.

William H. Herndon visited with Lincoln's stepmother in Coles County, Illinois, on September 8, 1865. She gave him the remainder of Abraham's copybook, "a sort of repository, in which he was wont to store everything worthy of preservation." The twenty pages which are known today are reproduced in facsimile in the first volume of the recently published *Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln* (Abraham Lincoln Association edition). The Republican nominee's copybook became an item of public interest immediately upon his nomination to the presidency.

OLD ABE'S COPY BOOK⁵

Some of the relatives of Mr. Lincoln, in this vicinity, who have been hunting among the papers of his father, who died in this county many years ago [1851], have found one of Abe's copy books, bearing date in the year 1824, at which time he was 16 [15] years old. We believe there is nothing remarkable about it, and only goes to show that his education was at that time far behind that of most of the lads of that age of this day. Whether it was his good or bad fortune, Mr. Lincoln was without the advantages of an early education, which in his generation are offered to every youth. He was the child of poverty, but the strong powers of his intellect were not to be cramped by any such untoward circumstances, and that industry and perseverance which marks the career of the truly great men of our nation, has led the indigent boy up the steps of fame. He stands now, almost, as it were, on the very topmost round of the ladder, the admired of his countrymen, loved by his acquaintances, and respected by the wise and learned.

Many details of Lincoln's life were not well known when he was nominated for President on May 18, 1860. Many papers reprinted the account which appeared the following day in the *Chicago Tribune*. The Democratic *Menard County Axis*, published at Petersburg, Illinois, concluded with these two paragraphs concerning Lincoln's old home town of New Salem:⁶

The county of Menard was then formed and Petersburg was made the county seat, to which most of the buildings from Salem were removed. The

⁵ *Ill. State Journal*, June 7, 1860, from the *Charleston* [Ill.] *Courier*.

⁶ *Ill. State Journal*, June 2, 1860, from the *Menard County Axis*.

building in which Mr. Lincoln was a "sort of clerk," now stands nearly opposite to our office, and is now occupied as the residence of Mr. Rourke, our county Clerk. The building used by the firm of Lincoln & Berry, was also removed to this place, and is on the North-east corner two blocks South of us, and is converted into a family residence.

The story of Mr. Lincoln's "clerking" in a common dram-shop is not altogether correct, as we are informed by old inhabitants, now residing in this place and acquainted with the facts. As was customary in those days, however, the "merchants," besides the usual supply of notions, calico, groceries, tobacco, &c., kept "always on hand" a barrel or two of Monongahala or Old Rye, "to be sold in quantities to suit the purchaser."

One of Lincoln's closest friends in Springfield before his removal to Lafayette, Oregon, in 1852, was Dr. Anson G. Henry, physician and Whig leader. From October, 1832, to August, 1833, he was postmaster of Sangamotown, located half way between Springfield and New Salem, on the Sangamon River. There are several versions of the story of Lincoln settling his account with the Post Office Department, and they differ in the amount of money involved.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN'S INTEGRITY—AN INTERESTING STORY OF HIS EARLY LIFE⁷

The following incident in the early history of Mr. Lincoln, now the Republican candidate for President, illustrates more fully than any thing that can be said or done *now*, his great integrity of character, and his peculiar fitness in that respect for the office of President. It shows that he would take special care that not a dollar of the people's money should be used improperly.

During the Presidency of Gen. Jackson, and while Mr. Barry, of Kentucky was Post Master General, and Abraham Lincoln was post master in the little town of New Salem,⁸ in Sangamon Co., Illinois, the Government's portion of the receipts of the office for the two years he held it, amounted to one hundred and fifty or two hundred dollars; all of which was permitted to remain in his hands, uncalled for by the Postmaster General, for three or four years after Mr. Lincoln resigned the office. . . . In the meantime Mr. Kendall, having succeeded Mr. Barry in the Post-Office Department, set about relieving the Department from its pecuniary embarrassments, by "picking up the crumbs" which Mr. Barry had thrown away as not worth the trouble of saving, and in the fall of 1834 or '35, drew on Mr. Lincoln, in favor of a mail carrier, for the amount standing against him on the books of the Department.⁹ The mail carrier inquired of me for Mr. Lincoln, at the same time showing me the draft on him for near two hundred dollars. I felt that

⁷ *Ill. State Journal*, Sept. 17, 1860, from the *Portland Oregonian*.

⁸ Lincoln served as postmaster at New Salem from May 7, 1833, until May 30, 1836, when the post office was moved to Petersburg. Lincoln's \$500 bond was signed by John Alley and Alexander Trent.

⁹ Amos Kendall succeeded William T. Barry as postmaster general, May 1, 1835 and served for six years.

this would be a large sum for a poor man, like Mr. Lincoln, to raise, on demand, and on meeting him offered to aid him if necessary. He thanked me, and said he did not need assistance; went to his room and returned in a few minutes with a package in his hand, containing money, and on counting it out it was found to be the exact amount called for by the draft, *and the very money received by him four and five years previous.*¹⁰

During all this period, money was being loaned for three and five per cent. per month, and Mr. Lincoln was often, from inability to collect what was due him, sorely pressed for five dollars to pay a board bill. Besides it was then the policy of the government to allow the banks to use the people's money for speculative purposes, and it was not thought wrong or disreputable for a government officer to use the money in his possession, *provided*, he had a reasonable prospect for raising it when it was wanted for disbursement. But Mr. Lincoln believed it was wrong to use what did not belong to him, and his stern unbending integrity, enabled him to resist not only the temptation of "pinching poverty," but the all powerful influence of public sentiment.

Now, Mr. Editor, I feel very sure that when the people come to understand the true character of Mr. Lincoln, and to reflect upon the present laxity of public morals on the subject of using the public money, and the great need there is of reform in this particular,—will say of Abraham Lincoln in November next, as was said of old of the faithful servant, by the Great Judge of human nature—"thou hast been faithful over a few things," *we will make thee ruler over many.*"

Lafayette, July 16, 1860.

H.

Lincoln lived at New Salem from 1831 to 1837; where he made his home is not definite, but it seems certain that he stayed for a time with Caleb Carman, the village shoemaker. Carman in his recollections of Lincoln states that he took care of the post office when Postmaster Lincoln was in the legislature in the winter of 1834-1835 and 1835-1836.

[LINCOLN CANES A CHAIR]¹¹

In the summer of 1834, while Abraham Lincoln, then a prominent and rising young lawyer, was living at the house of Mr. Caleb Carman, in the little village of Salem, which was situated on the Sangamon river, about two miles from where the flourishing town of Petersburg now stands, an old-fashioned split-bottom chair, which constituted a portion of Mr. Carman's household furniture, became useless for the purpose for which it was orig-

¹⁰ Henry, in relating the story to Isaac N. Arnold, added that Lincoln went to his boarding house and got from his trunk an old "blue sock with a quantity of silver and copper coin tied up in it," amounting to sixteen or eighteen dollars to complete the unpaid balance. The account book of William Carpenter, Springfield postmaster, has this entry under June 14, 1837: "For Cash recd of A. Lincoln late P.M. New Salem \$248.63."

¹¹ *Ill. State Journal*, Oct. 24, 1860, "A Relic and Its History."

inally designed, in consequence of the "caving in" of the seat thereof.¹² Mr. Lincoln, whose mechanical genius was by no means insignificant, went to work with his characteristic persevering earnestness, and proceeded to replace the old seat with a new one. He succeeded admirably, to his own satisfaction and the great improvement of the chair, which is still in existence, and, though presenting a rather dimmed and time-worn appearance, is as sound and substantial as in its younger days. It was purchased from Mr. Carman at a general sale, about twenty years ago, by Mr. Robert Bishop, of Petersburg, who retained it in his possession until a short time since, when it was obtained, as a curiosity, by Mr. J. B. Fosselman, of this city, who now has it at his drug store. It is indeed a curious relic.

Lincoln was not proud of his abortive duel with James Shields, state auditor, on September 22, 1842. Certain offensive letters reflecting on Shields and his refusal to accept paper money of the State and Shawneetown banks, had been published in the *Sangamo Journal*. Hearing that Lincoln had written the letters, Shields challenged Lincoln to a duel.

GOSSIP AND DUELS¹³

A great deal of fun was had by the jokers in Springfield about an affair in which, long time ago, our good friend Lincoln, the candidate for the Presidency, was engaged. A young lady of that city, now the wife of a distinguished statesman,¹⁴ wrote a paragraph in a burlesque for the *Sangamon Journal*, in which Gen. Shields was good humoredly ridiculed for his connection with some public measure. The General was greatly incensed, and demanded of the editor the name of the offending party. "Old Sim" put him off with a request for twenty-five hours to consider the matter; and shortly, afterwards meeting Lincoln, told him his perplexity.¹⁵ "Tell him I wrote it!" said Lincoln; and tell him he did. After a deal of diplomacy to get a retraction of the offensive parts of the paragraph in question, Shields sent a challenge, which Lincoln accepted, named broadswords as the weapons, and an unfrequented, well wooded island in the Mississippi, just below Alton, as the place. "Old Abe," was first on the spot, and when Shields arrived he found his antagonist, his sword in one hand and a hatchet in the other, with his coat off, clearing away the underbrush!¹⁶ Before the preliminary arrange-

¹² Carman in his recollections of Lincoln, which he wrote in 1882, states that Lincoln took his axe and soon returned with "two hickory poles on his shoulders, and in a very short time two of my chairs had new bottoms." The original manuscript, published in Oldroyd, *Lincoln Memorial Album of Immortelles*, pages 518-19, is in the Illinois State Historical Library.

¹³ *Ill. State Journal*, April 27, 1860.

¹⁴ This was Julia Jayne, friend of Mary Todd, and later the wife of Lyman Trumbull.

¹⁵ "Old Sim" was Simeon Francis, founder in 1831 of the *Journal* and its editor until 1855. His wife helped bring Mary Todd and Lincoln together; they were married six weeks after the abortive duel.

¹⁶ The weapons were to be cavalry swords of the largest size. Lincoln's instructions for the duel, in his handwriting, now in the Robert Todd Lincoln Collection in the Library of Congress, are printed in the *Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, I: 300-

ments were completed, John J. Hardin, who had somehow got wind of what was afloat, appeared on the scene, called them both d—d fools, and by his arguments addressed to their common sense, and by his ridicule on the figure that they two well grown, bearded men,¹⁷ were making there, each with a frog sticker in his hand, broke up the fight. . . .

While a member of Congress in 1847-1849 Lincoln spent some time bowling at the John Casparis Alley. In Springfield he often played "fives," a type of handball, on the vacant lot south of the *Journal* building, and occasionally played chess with Judge Samuel H. Treat and others in the S. H. Melvin drug store at the northwest corner of the public square. It was probably here that the reporter for the *New York Times* observed his style of play:¹⁸

Speaking of custom, reminds me of a curious custom of Mr. Lincoln while playing chess. . . . Mr. Lincoln takes delight in the movements on the ordinary, as well as of the political chess board, and plays a very fair game, but not a first rate one. He has a habit of whistling and singing all the time—his musical ability being confined to one tune, and that tune, I sagely suspect, is "Dixie's Land." While playing chess, Mr. Lincoln seems to be continually thinking of something else. Those who have played with him say he plays as if it were but a mechanical pastime to occupy his hands while his mind is busy with some other subject, just as one often twirls a cane, or plays with a string, or as a pretty coquette toys with her fan.

The way any man plays, either at a game of skill or of chance, is generally a pretty fair index to his character. Success or defeat—the chances—the variations in the probability of triumph—the turning point in the struggle—the exhibition of temper under all circumstances—the stubborn defence in hopeless resistance—the spirited attack with the weaker force, and all the incidents of mimic warfare contribute to develop the strong points of a man's disposition. Nor does Mr. Lincoln suffer by judgment under this rule. He plays what chess players call a "safe game." Rarely attacking, he is content to let his opponent attack while he concentrates all his energies in the defence—awaiting the opportunity of dashing in at a weak point, or the expenditure of his adversary's strength, self-reliant in adversity, magnanimous in success, and undaunted by defeat, he is the model of a chess general.

A large crowd gathered at the Alton depot on November 21, 1860, for Lincoln's first departure from Springfield since his nomination in May.

302. Thomas S. Pinckard, newsroom foreman, had found the two-page memorandum "among a lot of old manuscripts in a loft in the old *Journal* office" and sent them to Lincoln through John G. Nicolay, Lincoln's private secretary, March 18, 1862. The *Journal* had printed the correspondence concerning the duel on Oct. 7 and 14, 1842.

¹⁷ Neither Lincoln nor Shields then wore a beard. The *Journal* of Dec. 17, 1860, noted that "Our English friends say that President Lincoln is putting on 'airs. They think so, we suppose, because Mr. Lincoln is raising a pair of whiskers."

¹⁸ *Ill. State Journal*, Nov. 27, 1860, Springfield correspondence of the *New York Times*.

He spoke briefly at Lincoln, Bloomington, and Lexington. Upon their arrival in Chicago the Lincolns went to the Tremont House, where Vice-President-elect Hannibal Hamlin cordially greeted them.

The visit of the President and Vice President elect to that city, their first interview since their nomination, made Chicago the center of much interest during the past week. Yielding to the very general desire of its citizens to see the gallant standard bearers of Republicanism, Friday morning was fixed upon for a reception at the parlors of the Tremont House between the hours of 10 and 12. The day was the most inclement of the season thus far, cold, snowing, and with general winter aspects abroad, yet the people were not at home.

From the hour earliest named, until noon, a constant stream of visitors poured in at the Lake street entrance of the Tremont House. The ladies had their full share in the representation, and the affair was an ovation throughout. For two hours and a half the line moved through the middle parlor of the Dearborn street front, where Mr. Lincoln stood and shook hands with each as they passed him. At his right stood Mrs. Lincoln, and next Mr. Hamlin. Everything moved off most pleasantly and creditably to all concerned. With his acquaintances, Mr. Lincoln exchanged a single word.¹⁹

Among the many gifts which were presented to Lincoln was a dress coat. We read in the December 7, 1860 issue of the *Journal*:

We yesterday were shown at the Clothing store of Messrs. Wood[s] & Henkle, a very handsome and elegantly made dress coat, gotten up at that establishment as a present to the President elect. The stitching upon it is very elaborate, and ornamented with a great deal of extra work, fully sustaining the high reputation for cutting and tailoring which Wood[s] & Henkle's shop has so long maintained and enjoyed.

The announcement of Lincoln's candidacy for the Illinois legislature appeared first in the March 15, 1832 issue of the *Sangamo Journal*. In 1836 Lincoln was its New Salem agent. On February 3, 1838 the *Journal* published Lincoln's address before the Young Men's Lyceum on January 27, "The Perpetuation of Our Political Institutions." On June 18, 1864, Lincoln was to write: "The Journal paper was always my friend; and, of course its editors the same." In the light of this statement the following editorial in the *Journal* of December 24, 1860 is revealing:

COMPLIMENTARY.

The Democratic newspapers continue to assert that the JOURNAL is Mr. Lincoln's organ of communication with "all the world and the rest of man-

¹⁹ *Ill. State Journal*, Nov. 26, 1860, from the *Chicago Tribune*, Nov. 24, 1860. The Lincolns left for Chicago on Wednesday, Nov. 21, and returned on the following Monday.

kind," and insist on making him responsible for the utterances of our pen. Some of the more rabid among them even go so far as to state that the President elect actually writes with his own hand the articles which appear in our editorial columns.²⁰ It does no good to contradict these statements. We have time and again informed the public that we do not presume to "speak by the card," when referring to the distinguished gentleman in question, except so far as we are authorized by the views expressed in his published speeches, to which of course all our contemporaries who aspire to organship have equal access with us. During the late campaign we frequently expressed the opinion that Mr. Lincoln had no organ, and our belief on this point remains unchanged to this day. We have been in the habit of using these columns to give expression to our own opinions of men and things. . . . We do not think Mr. Lincoln should be held responsible for our utterances any more than should we be made responsible for any article which emanates from his pen. We have always been a warm admirer of the clear, pointed and logical style which characterizes all his productions, and we cannot deny the compliment paid us in attributing to him the productions of our humble pen. Mr. Lincoln's manner of communicating with the public has been in the form of speeches from the stump, and letters over his own signature. We have no knowledge that he has abandoned this method and taken to writing "leaders" for the newspapers. . . . We presume, however, that in spite of the above denial, the charge will be reiterated, and the skeptical can only be reassured of its entire falsity by a visit to our city. They may then learn that the time of the President elect is abundantly occupied in attending to his own matters, and that the editorials for this paper are written in the JOURNAL BUILDINGS, where we are always prepared to receive calls from our friends and customers.

HARRY E. PRATT

A PLEA FOR A MONAGHAN PRE-ONE

If the *Reports from the Joint Select Committee to Enquire into the Condition of the State Bank of Illinois*, to the General Assembly on January 21, 1840 (Monaghan No. 3),¹ is accepted as authentic Lincolniana, should we not accept the *Report of the Committee on Finance* submitted to the House of Representatives on December 18, 1838?² In his listing of the 121-page report of the 1840 Joint Select Committee, Monaghan notes merely that Lincoln was a member of the committee and had taken part in the various meetings of the committee, and I can nowhere find any suggestion of actual participation in the writing of the report.

²⁰ William H. Bailhache and Edward L. Baker had been the *Journal* editors since 1855. Baker was married to Julia Edwards, niece of the Lincolns.

¹ Jay Monaghan, *Lincoln Bibliography, 1839-1939*, 2 vol. (Springfield, 1943).

² This report was submitted one month before Lincoln's Jan. 17, 1839 report from the Committee on Finance on "Public Lands in Illinois," which is Monaghan No. 1.

On the other hand, Lincoln was also a member of the Finance committee of the House during the first session of the Eleventh Assembly, and Beveridge strongly contends that the report of the committee was written in whole or in part by Lincoln:

In less than a fortnight, Lincoln's personal friend and intimate, and his associate on the Committee on Finance, Archibald Williams of Adams County, presented from that Committee a remarkable report, obviously intended and admirably adapted to be a Whig campaign document. As a member of the Committee, Lincoln helped to formulate it, and the probability is almost conclusive that he wrote most or all of it. The style and method of reasoning are distinctly those of Lincoln.³

Further assurance is given my position in *Lincoln, 1809-1839*.⁴ On pages lxxiv-lxxv support is given Beveridge on the point of Lincoln's authorship:

Lincoln's pet plan for saving the credit of the State was yet in its formative stage when Archibald Williams of Adams, the Whig chairman of the committee on Finance, brought before the House a remarkable report on the subject of banking. Drawn up obviously as a Whig campaign document, it was in all probability written by Lincoln.

On December 8, 1838, the speaker of the House announced the standing committees of the House for the session. The committee on Finance: Messrs. Williams (chairman), Webb of Alexandria, Rawalt, Lincoln, Stapp, Compher, Gouge, Daley, and Walker of Vermilion. The last four were Democrats and presented a minority report. This and the majority report were printed and issued together, antedating Monaghan No. 1 by a full month.

It is this fourteen-page pamphlet that I submit should be given the right of precedence in a Lincoln bibliography. If the December 18 report cannot be admitted, then I hold that neither should Monaghan No. 3. This argument is not put forth contentiously. I am in accord with Monaghan's No. 3 selection, and merely advance the argument to further my own position in regard to the pamphlet proposed as Monaghan Pre-One.

New York City

CARL HAVERLIN

LINCOLN DIPLOMA OF HONOR

The Lincoln Diploma of Honor, annual award of Lincoln Memorial University, Harrogate, Tennessee, was conferred upon Marion Bonzi Pratt of Springfield, at the commencement exercises on June 8, 1953. Mrs. Pratt was awarded the Diploma because of her work as an "efficient and pains-

³ Albert T. Beveridge, *Abraham Lincoln, 1809-1858* (Boston, 1928), I: 240.

⁴ Harry E. Pratt, *Lincoln, 1809-1839* (Springfield, Ill., 1941).

taking assistant editor in compiling, classifying and annotating *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*." This nine-volume work published by Rutgers University Press was prepared for publication by the Abraham Lincoln Association of Springfield, Illinois, under the editorship of Roy P. Basler, executive secretary. Mrs. Pratt was engaged in the editorial work for seven years and became the "friend, assistant, and collaborator with many notable authors and historians in the field of Lincolniana."

Among those who have received the Diploma are: Basler, Jay Monaghan, Allan Nevins, Ralph G. Newman, Fern Nance Pond, Harry E. Pratt, James G. Randall, Carl Sandburg, Robert E. Sherwood and Benjamin P. Thomas.

LINCOLN WAS FIRST A MILITIA CAPTAIN

Proof that Abraham Lincoln was a captain in the Illinois Militia twelve days before Governor John Reynolds called for mounted volunteers to fight Black Hawk was recently discovered by Mrs. Ellen Whitney while engaged in research on the Black Hawk War for the Illinois State Historical Library. The documentary evidence is a certification made by Adjutant General Elijah C. Berry to Governor Reynolds on December 10, 1832 of the election of militia officers during the year—the original document is in the Archives Section of the Illinois State Library. It shows that Lincoln was elected a captain in the Thirty-first Regiment of Illinois Militia on April 7, 1832. This was twelve days before Governor Reynolds' call and fourteen days before he was elected captain of the volunteer company composed principally of his friends from the New Salem neighborhood. This action is considered another indication of how quickly Lincoln had become popular after his arrival in New Salem the previous summer, and it also helps to explain why he was elected so readily by the volunteers.

RARE LINCOLN CAMPAIGN NEWSPAPERS

The Illinois State Historical Library has recently acquired one of the rarities in the field of Lincolniana—a complete file of *The Rail Splitter*, a Lincoln campaign newspaper published in Cincinnati, Ohio, in 1860. The first number was dated August 1 and the thirteenth and final issue was on October 27. Only four complete files are known, despite the editor's statement that thirty thousand copies of the first issue were printed. Two of these files are in the libraries of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio, Cincinnati, and the Lincoln National Life Foundation, Fort Wayne, Indiana. The fourth, owned by Foreman M. Lebold, Chicago collector, was used in 1950 to make a facsimile reproduction issued by the Abraham Lincoln Book Shop.

Let the People Rejoice!



LINCOLN ELECTED!

**'THE PEOPLE TRUE TO LIBERTY.
ILLINOIS REDEEMED!
SHE VOTES FOR LINCOLN.
She chooses Republican Legislature.
SHE REPUDIATES DOUGLAS.**

GOD BLESS THE OLD KEYSTONE!!

GOD BLESS NEW YORK!

**'Lincoln carries all the Atlantic States but
New Jersey.**

AN AVALANCHE OF FREEMEN.

SHOUT BOYS SHOUT, VICTORY IS OURS, FREEDOM IS TRIUMPHANT.

An even rarer 1860 campaign newspaper is *The Freeport Wide Awake*. Its first issue appeared on August 6, 1860 and the thirteenth and final number on November 17. The Historical Library has the last seven numbers—the only complete file is owned by the State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

The *Wide Awake* was published weekly by R. W. Hulbert and O. Ingersoll. It carried speeches by Owen Lovejoy and John Cochrane, poems, "exposures" of Douglas' principles, and accounts of various Republican rallies in northern Illinois. Unlike most campaign papers it published an issue carrying the election results, and the last page of the November 17 number is a banner of thanks to the states of Illinois, Pennsylvania and New York for their Lincoln majorities.

Another 1860 campaign paper was *The Rail Splitter*, published in Chicago from June 23 to October 27. The Historical Library has only the July 21 issue of the eighteen published.

A PETITION SIGNED BY LINCOLN

Among the original Lincoln documents recently added to the Illinois State Historical Library collection is a three-page petition dated "February—1836" and addressed to the County Commissioners Court of Sangamon County asking for a "suitable Bridge Over Rock Creek where the Lewiston and Springfield Road now crossed the same."

Among the eighty-four signatures on the petition are those of Abraham Lincoln and well known friends of his who resided in the New Salem neighborhood including: Bowling Green, John A. Kelso, Jack Armstrong, Alexander Trent, Dr. John Allen, Joshua Miller, Caleb Carman, Thomas J. Nance, Travis Elmore, and Washington Hornbuckle.

The petition was a gift of Captain William Eugene Boeker, Oakford, Illinois, World War II and Korean veteran and former guide at New Salem State Park.

A LIVING MEMORIAL TO LINCOLN

The Abraham Lincoln Memorial Garden is a unique addition to the Lincoln memorials. This Garden (see front cover of this *Journal*) stretches sixty acres along the shoreline of Lake Springfield, seven miles southeast of the city. It perpetuates, within its borders, the virgin prairie and woodlands of the Illinois country. Its wide grasslands and wooded hills recapture in miniature the free expanse and solitary beauty of the wilderness.

The members of the Garden Club of Illinois, who planted the Abraham Lincoln Memorial Garden under the leadership of Mrs. T. J. Knudson, indefatigable worker and woman of vision, believed that the beauty of the

countryside which Lincoln knew as a youth, and for which he always had a feeling of profound affection, was a contributing factor in his growth. Many references to this natural beauty, particularly the beauty of trees, are to be found in his speeches. And, of course, there is the widely quoted "I always plucked a thistle and planted a flower when I thought a flower would grow."

The plan for the Lincoln Memorial Garden was drawn by Jens Jensen, master of naturalistic landscape design, in 1936. The garden was then sixty empty acres along the shore of the newly created Lake Springfield. Tramping across its seemingly limitless spaces, the eager enthusiasts of the garden clubs would unroll the map and say, "See, this will be here, and this here, and this there," rejoicing in their distant dream. But already in these few short years the things are here, and here, and here. The emptiness has been devoured by eager growth. The slopes and meadows are clothed in living glory. The vision that lived only in the eyes of the dreamer stands real for all to see.

While it is still the most important project of that large organization, the Garden Club of Illinois, which comprises 190 community garden clubs all over the state, recently the Abraham Lincoln Memorial Garden Foundation has been formed, with memberships, so that everyone who cherishes Lincoln's memory may be given an opportunity to help in the further development of this great project. Plans are under way for a pilgrimage late in April or early in May of 1954, when the transcendent beauty of the crab-apples, the hawthornes, the Juneberry, the snowdrop tree, the dogwood and the redbud, and all the rest will be at its height.

A short history of the Memorial Garden should be included here, for the benefit of those, unfamiliar with the project, who are interested in knowing how this great undertaking was started. The Garden Club of Illinois is not an old organization. It was organized in 1927, and in those early years Mrs. T. J. Knudson, of Springfield, was a member of the board of directors of the state organization. At that time the city of Springfield was building a lake near the city by damming up the waters of two small creeks, under the direction of the Department of Public Works. This lake, when completed, was about ten square miles in extent, with a picturesquely indented shoreline.

Mrs. Knudson, realizing how beautiful the lake would be, dreamed of a great garden there, planted with the native trees, shrubs and flowers of the region Lincoln knew as a child and a young man. Willis J. Spaulding, then Springfield's Commissioner of Public Works, set aside this beautiful area, approximately three quarters of a mile long, and varying in width to a quarter of a mile back from the lake to the road. Here the Garden Club of Illinois planned the garden under the expert guidance of Jens Jensen. Into the drawings which Mr. Jensen submitted, more than a year's study was incorporated.

*Herbert Georg Studio*

JENS JENSEN PLANNED THE MEMORIAL GARDEN

He visited the site during the four seasons of the year, and when the plans were finally completed he submitted them with this note:

I know this has taken a long time, but good work is never done in haste. I have given you the best I had to give. I feel it is one of the greatest honors that has been bestowed upon me,—to plan a garden in memory of Abraham Lincoln. It has been planned on a large scale, in keeping with the country of which it is a part. It will sing the song of America. This garden will, in fifty years, be the outstanding planting in the Middle West. In centuries to come, our descendants will enjoy and cherish this garden. Only the most fitting and enduring plants are to be used,—trees that will give dignity and nobility to the garden, and scatter their seeds and produce their offspring as far as man's vision goes in the distant tomorrow.

The land is slightly rolling. The hills are covered with the trees of Illinois, the oak, maple, hickory, the Kentucky coffee tree, the elm, tulip trees, nut trees, sassafras, birch, and even a small clump of cypress. Bordering

these forests and lining the paths that bisect them are the beautiful small trees, hawthorne, crabapple, halesia, shad, dogwood and redbud. The little trails are bordered with viburnum, witchhazel, ninebark, and the native philadelphus. Open spots are planted with prairie flowers, and the flowers of the meadows are in fields at the water's edge.

The garden was planted and turned back to the city of Springfield for maintenance in 1941. Now the trees have grown sufficiently so that many of the native flowers of the woodlands can be planted, and a tremendous amount of work was done this spring. Growing things, as Jens Jensen said, are life. Life changes constantly. It will always be time, now and down through the generations, to replace plant materials lost to the vicissitudes of weather, to make new plantings where the shifting development of the forest offers situations of special advantage.

Quoting Paul Angle, Lincoln historian:

Since the death of Lincoln, hundreds of memorials to his life and work have been created. Their range is wide—from bronze and marble statues to the magnificent temple in Washington, from the rebuilt village of New Salem to the tomb at Springfield. But so far as I know, none even faintly resembles the Lincoln Memorial Garden. That will be unique. It will be as permanent as bronze or stone, and flexible beyond either. Endowed with life, it can be adapted to changing standards of taste and beauty, and thus it will never become an artistic anachronism. In this respect, as in its conception, it will be almost without rivals.

Berwyn, Illinois

MRS. RAYMOND KNOTTS



ONLY LOCK ON THE WABASH RIVER

Permission to reprint the following article from The Waterways Journal of March 7, 1953, was given by the author James V. Swift, business manager of that magazine:

If you would like to stand in the bottom of a river lock that once handled commercial vessels, go to Mount Carmel, Illinois, when the Wabash River is low. There you can walk through the only lock built on the Wabash and inspect closely capstans, gate frames and other equipment of the type used in the last century. A good sized forest is now sprouting from the lock floor and when the leaves are out navigation would be difficult.

On the bank the lockmen's houses are in ruins, burned or torn down, but a tall, white flagpole is intact.

The Grand Rapids Dam, which I visited on February 22, has been almost completely wrecked by high water. It once backed the river over the most treacherous place in the stream, the Grand Rapids.

Unlike some locks, this one is easily reached. John Wellerman, who operates the Fifth Street Ferry at Mount Carmel, will take visitors across the river where the road to the structure leads to the left from the top of the ferry approach. Mr. Wellerman's steel flat was built on the river bank at Mount Vernon and its propelling unit, the Ben, is powered with a "jeep" motor. The ferry runs from six a. m. to midnight, offering a short-cut from Mount Carmel to Vincennes, Patoka and Hazleton, Indiana.

Many people are not aware that there ever was a dam and lock on the Wabash. Even in Mount Carmel facts about navigation at the Grand Rapids

Lock and Dam are scarce. Thanks to Lieutenant Colonel R. P. Tabb, executive officer of the Louisville U. S. Engineer District, considerable material has now been found which may be of interest.

The "Twenty Years Ago" column in today's *Waterways Journal* carries a note that "improvement of the Wabash River was deemed inadvisable according to an announcement by Maj. Gen. Lytle Brown of the U. S. Engineers." This apparently marked the end of commercial navigation on a river that once was an important artery for steamboat traffic. When the Engineer report was issued the Wabash-Maumee Improvement Association, of which Marcus Sonntag of Evansville, Indiana, was president, was advocating the establishment of an eight-foot channel in the Wabash and Maumee rivers, together with a 30-mile canal near Peru, Indiana, to link the Great Lakes with the Ohio River.

The U. S. Engineers had the responsibility of maintaining a channel for navigation in the Wabash and White rivers after June 10, 1872, and a U. S. Engineer office at Indianapolis, Indiana, of which Major Jared A. Smith was in charge in 1877, had jurisdiction over this work.

Previously improvements had been made by the Wabash Navigation Company and other groups. A lock had been started as early as 1842 at the major obstacle to navigation, the Grand Rapids near Mount Carmel, 1.5 miles above the mouth of the White River and 97.1 miles above the mouth of the Wabash. The structure was handling boats at least by 1849 and 282 vessels passed through between December 1 of that year and June 7, 1850. The Federal government purchased the franchise and property rights at the lock in 1875 for \$7,000, but at that time it was almost totally useless.

The present structure, completed in 1897, was 214 feet long by 52 feet wide. The lift, at low water, was 11.8 feet. The depth of the lower gate miter sill at low water was 3.2 feet and the depth of the upper gate miter sill at pool stage was 5.08 feet. The dam was a fixed, stone filled timber crib type structure on a rock foundation. The cost of the lock and dam was \$260,000 and it afforded slackwater navigation for about 12 miles up the river. The last commercial vessel to pass through, in 1926, carried two tons of merchandise and drew one to two feet of water. Following this, the lock was maintained for small craft through 1931, while the reservation and buildings were maintained until June 30, 1933. On August 15, 1938, the real estate at the site was sold to the highest bidder for \$2,076. The Boy Scouts from the neighboring territory have used the reservation in recent years.

TRAVEL HANDICAPS AND HOSPITALITY

The following paragraph on an Illinois train trip in December, 1862 is from an article "Missionary Tour to Iowa" published in the Presbytery Reporter, April, 1863, p. 361:

The Chicago and Rock Island, and the Chicago and Burlington Railroads are not specially accommodating to each other, or the public. Instead of having a common depot and stopping place at the exact junction of the Roads, you are carried two miles past it, on the Burlington Road, to Wyand. Then you must either take a hack and pay a quarter, or else must "tote" your carpet-bag a mile across to *Pond Creek*, on the Rock Island R. R., and some two miles from the junction again. You get across to Pond Creek at 12 M., and are informed you must wait until 4½ P.M., for the Rock Island train. Then you cast about for dinner. There is neither tavern nor eating house. You see a drunken man and wonder where he got his whisky! Finally, in passing a small house, you see, through the window, coffee-cups on the table. Your hopes rise. You knock at the door, and inquire of a wholesome-looking young woman, "Where in this *city* dinner can be had?" "Come in, come in," says she; stops her washing; hushes her crying baby; sets out her coffee, her baked hog's-head, her bread, her doughnuts, her plum sauce—in a word, all she has—and invites you to "set by." You do so, and partake of the abundance with a grateful heart. You ask for your bill, and she replies. "Anything you please." You don't begrudge her a quarter. She is alarmed about the diphtheria. There has been a death in that neighborhood of that fell disease. In your gratitude you tell her of the latest mode of cure which has come to your knowledge, and go your way to the depot to wait four hours.

WHY THE YOUNG MAN WAS TOLD TO GO WEST

There may be other versions of why Horace Greeley advised, "Go west, young man!" but here is John Wentworth's. It was part of a talk delivered by the former Chicago mayor and congressman before the Sunday Lecture Society in Chicago on May 7, 1876, and published in the Fergus Historical Series, No. 7 (1876), pp. 35-36:

Most of the families of wealth, education, and high social position, about the time of our [Chicago's] incorporation, were settled on the North Side. The "Lake House" there was the first brick hotel constructed in our city, and it was as well furnished and conducted as any hotel west of New York city. Upon the South Side were most of the business houses, and hotels

that were kept for the accommodation of farmers who came to Chicago with their loads of grain. Business men without families, clerks, and employes of business men, generally boarded at these hotels on the South Side, often sleeping in the stores. We could not have anything like a large party on the South Side without female domestics. The fashionable people on the North Side would invite our young men to their parties on that side; but when we had a party on the South Side, instead of coming themselves, the ladies would send their domestics. . . .

There was considerable ill-feeling at one time between the North and South Sides in consequence of this discrimination. But politics then, as now, proved a great leveler in society. There was an elegant party given at the Lake House one evening, where one of the most fashionable men on the North Side, who was a candidate for office, thought he would throw an anchor to the windward by dancing with a South Side dressing-maid, while he supposed his wife was being entertained at the supper-table. But she entered the ball-room while the dance was going on. At once a proud heart was fired. Quicker than thought she spoke to a carriage-driver who stood at the door looking in: "Can you dance, Mike?" "It's only for the want of a partner," was the response. Seizing him by the hand, she said, "This is a game that two can play at!" and immediately the dance went on, amid the applause of the whole room; the man with the South Side dressing-maid, and his wife with the South Side driver. And thus free suffrage began its work against artificial social position.

Not long after my first election to Congress, upon opening my mail at Washington, I found a letter dated in the western part of Iowa, then far in the wilderness, reading in this way:

MY DEAR OLD CHICAGO FRIEND:

I see you have been getting up in the world, and it is so with myself, who am the sheriff's deputy here, and I also keep hotel. I am the same one who made all the fuss dancing with the lady at the Lake House ball, and you were there; and the girl I married is the same domestic her husband danced with. The judge of the court boards at our house, and he often dances with my wife at the big parties here, where we are considered among the first folks, and I reckon my wife Bridget would put on as many airs as the lady did at the Lake House, if she should catch me dancing with domestics. I found out that those people who made so much fuss at the Lake House were not considered much where they came from. But they emigrated to Chicago, and then set up for big folks. So I thought I would marry Bridget and start for a new country where I could be as big as anybody. And now remember your old Chicago friend, and tell the President I am for his administration, and would like to get the post-office here.

I remember that, during that session of Congress I boarded at the same house with Horace Greeley, and he was frequently in my room; and I think that it was from this letter he borrowed his sentiment, "Go west, young man!"

SATURDAY WAS A GREAT DAY IN JACKSONVILLE

When William Henry Milburn was a boy of fifteen his family moved to Jacksonville, Illinois, where his father was to operate a general store. Although blind for the last fifty of his eighty years he became a prominent Methodist minister and wrote several books about his experiences in the pioneer country. The following description of Jacksonville in 1838 is from his Ten Years of Preacher-Life (New York, 1859), pp. 24-27:

In the centre of the town was the public square . . . the sides of [which] were lined with the shanties, in which was transacted the business of the place. The occupants of those lowly shops, in which was sold all manner of merchandise—from the ribbon that trimmed the bonnet of the rustic belle, to the plough which broke up her father's acres—were styled merchants, and the occupation of bartering molasses and calico, for beeswax, butter, and eggs, was denominated the mercantile. At frequent intervals were located "groceries," most commonly called "doggeries," where "spirits" were sold by "the small," *i.e.*, the glass. In the centre of the square stood the court and market houses—the one brick, the other frame. The market was two storeys high—the lower storey devoted to the sale of meats, and upper to a newspaper and lawyers' offices, the gallery at the side serving as a rostrum for stump orators.

Saturday was a great day, when, from many miles around, the old and young, male and female, came with every product of the land, by every means of conveyance, to trade. Homespun dames and damsels, making the circuit of the square, inquiring at every door, "D'ye buy eggs and butter yer?" and sometimes responding indignantly, as I heard a maiden once, when told that eggs were bringing only three cents a dozen—"What! do ye s'pose our hens are gwine to strain theirselves a-laying eggs at three cents a dozen? Lay 'em yourself, and see how you'd like the price."

It was a lively scene on a market day; with its crowds of prairie waggons—long, low, uncovered boxes placed on wheels, in which the articles sold and bought, to which the generic name of plunder was applied, were conveyed to and from the town; while groups of saddled horses, pawing the earth, and neighing their neighbourly recognitions to each other, stood fastened at the posts. Here you might descry a piratical cow boarding a waggon by adroitly raising her fore-legs into it, and smelling around, while the

trading owner was absent for fruits and vegetables, or even devouring his purchased stock of sugar; and there, sweeping along at full gallop, some half-drunken jockey, shewing off the points of his steed, and, with stentorian voice, offering to bet any man ten dollars that it was the best piece of horse-flesh on the ground. Groups are gathered in front of all the "doggeries," at the street-corners, and at the doors of the court-house, discussing politics, or other urgent questions of the time; differences of opinion, stimulated by bald-face whisky, often bringing these conferences to a pugilistic termination. Meanwhile the older ladies, arrayed in dark linsey-woolsey dresses—the lower front adorned by blue check aprons—their heads covered with sun-bonnets, and their feet with yarn stockings and brogan shoes or moccasins, having brought the interesting and complicated operations of trading to a close, stand idly about with folded arms, regaling themselves with fumes of tobacco, inhaled from a corncob or sweet-potato pipe. The exercises of the day were usually varied by political speeches, a sheriff's sale, a half-dozen free fights, and thrice as many horse-swaps. Just before sundown, the traders departed, and the town was left to its inhabitants.

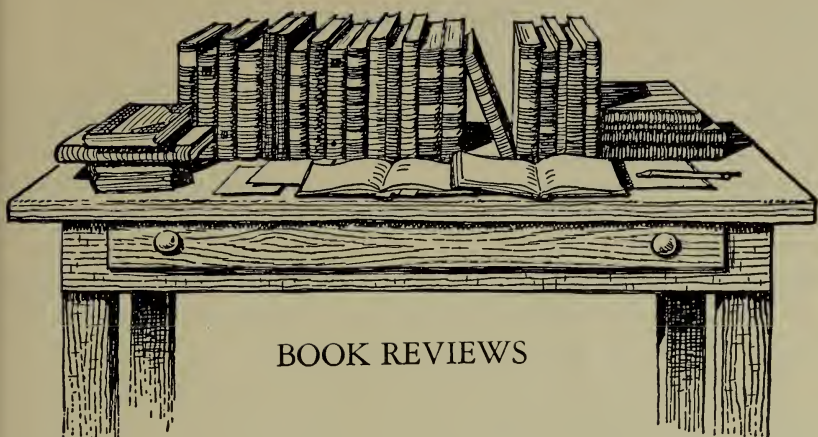
RIVER NAVIGATION IN THE EARLY DAYS

One of the more prolific writers about the Midwest of a century and more ago was James Hall. This description of navigation on the rivers of the Mississippi Valley concerns the pre-steamboat days and was published in his Notes on the Western States (Philadelphia, 1838), pp. 220-21:

In the earlier periods of this [river] navigation, the boats employed in it were liable to attacks from the Indians, who employed a variety of artifices to decoy the crews into their power. Sometimes a single individual, disguised in the apparel of some unhappy white man, who had fallen into their hands, appeared on the shore making signals of distress, and counterfeiting the motions of a wounded man. The crew supposing him to be one of their countrymen, who had escaped from the Indians, would draw near the shore for the purpose of taking him on board; nor would they discover the deception until, on touching the bank, a fierce band of painted warriors, would rush upon them from an artfully contrived ambushade. Sometimes the savages crawled to the water's edge, wrapped in the skins of bears, and thus allured the boatmen, who were ever ready to exchange the oar for the rifle, into their power. But the red warriors were often sufficiently numerous to attempt by open violence, that which they found it difficult to accomplish by artifice, against men as . . . expert in border warfare, as themselves. . .

These boats, but rarely using sails, and receiving only an occasional impulse from their oars, descended the stream with a speed but little superior at any time, to that of the current; while they met with many accidents and delays to lengthen the voyage. A month was usually consumed in the passage from Pittsburgh to New Orleans, while the return voyage was not effected in less than four months, nor without a degree of toil and exposure to which nothing but the hardiest frames, and the most indomitable spirits, would have been equal. The heavily laden boats were propelled against the strong current by poles, or, where the stream was too deep to admit the use of those, drawn by ropes. The former process required the exertion of great strength and activity, but the latter was even more difficult and discouraging—as the laborer, obliged by the heat of the climate to throw aside his clothing, and exposed to the burning rays of sun, was forced to travel on the heated sand, to wade through mire, to climb precipitous banks, to push his way through brush, and often to tread along the undermined shore, which giving way under his feet precipitated him into the eddying torrent.





BOOK REVIEWS

On Freedom's Altar: The Martyr Complex in the Abolition Movement.

By Hazel Catherine Wolf. (University of Wisconsin Press: Madison, 1952. Pp. xii, 195. \$3.75.)

The ideal of personal sacrifice strongly infused the religious thinking of nineteenth-century Americans through their childhood familiarity with John Fox's *Book of Martyrs*. In addition, colonial sufferings at British hands, the willingness of the Founding Fathers to pledge their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor for the ideals they professed, the privations of the patriots of the Revolutionary army, and the martyrdom of Nathan Hale all combined to make martyrdom a part of our national tradition. The efforts of the abolitionists to integrate this concept with their movement provides the theme of this book.

Each new martyrdom, that of Elijah P. Lovejoy, of Charles T. Torrey, and of John Brown, gave the movement impetus. William Lloyd Garrison, Theodore Weld, Prudence Crandall, James G. Birney, Stephen S. Foster, and Parker Pillsbury won admiration and sympathy through their willingness to risk death. The movement lost some of its drive when its adherents split, one group, despairing of the moral appeal alone, seeking to achieve their ends through politics, whereas others, cherishing the original tenets, held to moral suasion. But John Brown's martyrdom brought new coalescence. Abolitionist concepts leavened the ideals of the new-born Republican Party. Then, with Lincoln's assassination, antislavery gained its greatest martyr.

For years thereafter, says Miss Wolf, Radical Republicans used this "Martyr of Martyrs" as their greatest political asset, and by so doing, "prostituted the martyr tradition to support postwar programs far removed from the American quest for either freedom, justice, or humanitarianism."

The excellence of Miss Wolf's book lies not in the presentation of new facts, but rather in the illumination of a powerful phase of the antislavery movement.

Springfield

BENJAMIN P. THOMAS

The Influence of Henry Clay Upon Abraham Lincoln. By Edgar DeWitt Jones. (The Henry Clay Memorial Foundation: Lexington, 1952. Pp. 42. \$3.00. Paper cover \$1.00.)

This essay, by a long-time student and admirer of both Lincoln and Clay, brings together all contacts of the two men and quotes many of Lincoln's tributes to the Sage of Ashland, his "beau ideal of a statesman." Dr. Jones compares them as lawyers, orators, and political philosophers. It is all good reading, as is the introduction by William H. Townsend. There is no mention of Lincoln's deserting Clay in 1848 and promoting instead the presidential candidacy of Zachary Taylor. For example, Lincoln wrote in April, 1848: "Clay's chance for election, is just no chance at all. . . . We can elect nobody but Gen. Taylor; and we cannot elect him without a nomination."

Lincoln's eulogy to Clay was delivered on July 6 (not July 16), 1852, and the passage given on pages 28-29 was not Lincoln's own composition but a quotation from an editorial which had appeared in "one of the public Journals" on June 30.

H. E. P.

Lincoln and the Russians. By Albert A. Woldman. (World Publishing Company: Cleveland, 1952. Pp. 311. \$5.00.)

"During the epoch-making four years of the Civil War the Russian Minister [Stoeckl] was to see Lincoln more or less frequently. Seldom could he find anything complimentary to report about the American statesman. He could see only the agreeable and well-meaning provincial politician—weak, undecided, inexperienced, the slave of unscrupulous political intriguers and office seekers."

This is Woldman's conclusion after reading Baron Stoeckl's official reports from Washington. The title is somewhat misleading because the reports covered all phases of the Civil War period and there were months at a time Stoeckl did not mention Lincoln.

After Fort Sumter the Baron "relegated the Secretary of State to a Class of 'small politicians' without strong convictions and grossly ignorant of international affairs."

The failure of republican government in the United States was hoped for by Stoeckl, because it would be a setback to democracy everywhere. He thought the North could never defeat the South and that separation was inevitable. Stoeckl criticized the "inept leadership" of Lincoln, his "vacillation," and his "lack of moral courage," and had a low opinion of him as a leader in time of crisis. However, when the war ended, he admitted that "All predictions fail when one has to do with a people Providence has taken under his special protection." He had previously written that "One of the characteristics of this nation is its confidence in itself, in its destiny, and in its belief that the best government that God ever saw will last forever."

Woldman's concluding chapter deals with "The Mystery of the Alaska Purchase." There are footnotes to the sources, a bibliography and an index. Lawyer Woldman published *Lawyer Lincoln* in 1936.

H. E. P.

Divided We Fought: A Pictorial History of the War 1861-1865. General editor and author of the text: David Donald. Picture and caption editors: Hirst Milhollen, Milton Kaplan, and Hulen Stuart. (The Macmillan Company: New York, 1952. Pp. x, 452. \$10.)

For anyone interested in good pictures of the Civil War, with a brief, lucid explanatory text, this book is the best single volume in the field. The illustrations were selected first, nearly all are half-page or larger, and only fine examples were chosen. David Donald's informative text was written to fit the pictures. Some sixty drawings, principally by Alfred and William Waud and Edwin Forbes are used in addition to nearly 400 photographs.

Privates and generals and all ranks between, on foot or on horseback, are interspersed among photos of winter quarters and Confederate prisoners awaiting transportation to Northern prisons. There are photographs of bearded generals and drummer boys not old enough to be concerned with razors, of ruined forts, open air hospitals, and of windrows of the dead. A representative number of the illustrations were taken by the Confederates, and some depict naval warfare.

"Picture Credits" include the names of the photographers and the location of the prints used. Citations of the sources for all direct quotations are also given in "Reference Notes."

It is a book in which the editors and the publisher took infinite care and pride, and it is a tribute to the courageous artists and photographers of the Civil War.

H. E. P.

Impressions of Lincoln and the Civil War. A Foreigner's Account. By the Marquis Adolphe de Chambrun. (Random House: New York, 1952. Pp. 174. \$2.75.)

The Marquis, lawyer and journalist, wrote his impressions in letters to his wife from Washington, from February to July, 1865. He found the Senate "distinguished and intelligent" in appearance. Senator Charles Sumner introduced him to his colleagues, and the director of the census took him to the White House. The Marquis' descriptions and insight into Lincoln's qualities are refreshing.

Visiting the Navy Yard and viewing a monitor the Marquis remarked even as we do today, "Nothing is more characteristic, it seems to me, of our modern society than the constant effort . . . to perfect the *machine* and render destruction quicker and easier."

Chambrun's recognition of the conflicting views on reconstruction, and the effect of Lincoln's death are penetrating. His analysis of Lincoln's character on pages 99 to 103 is excellent.

There are comments throughout on Emperor Maximilian's troubles in Mexico, and despite his dislike of Washington's summer weather, Chambrun remained as legal counselor to the French Legation.

His visit to Grant's army at City Point, Virginia, with Mrs. Lincoln's party, was described in an article by the Marquis in *Scribner's Magazine* (January, 1893) based on the letters which are published in full in this book.

H. E. P.

Arms and the Monk! The Trappist Saga in Mid-America. By M. M. Hoffman. (Wm. C. Brown Company: Dubuque, Iowa, 1952. Pp. 233. \$3.00.)

This is the story of the founding and growth of the Trappist Monastery of New Melleray near Dubuque, Iowa. In 1809, a Trappist Monastery was founded near Cahokia, Illinois. War, cholera and starvation forced the closing of the Illinois organization. However, one solitary Trappist from the ill-fated Cahokia experiment, Father Joseph Dunand, was left in the Mississippi Valley. His missionary adventures finally reached into the Dubuque and Wisconsin districts. This, briefly, is the background of the Iowa Trappists.

From Mount Melleray, Ireland, in 1849 came the founders of New Melleray. Tragedy pursued them also. Cholera claimed six of the sixteen monks on the journey up the Mississippi River from New Orleans. Their bodies were buried along the shores of the Father of Waters. Disaster continued to plague the little colony for many years.

In October, 1863, one of the first articles written about New Melleray Abbey was carried in the *Chicago Tribune*. The writer, January Searle, described his visit to the monastery with such charm that Father Hoffman retells it almost in its entirety.

The farms and livestock industry of the Abbey were extensive. During the Civil War Brother Mary Bernard bought hogs and cattle from neighboring farms to fatten and sell to the Ryan Packing Company of Galena. Hogs were driven to Galena across the frozen Mississippi. In 1875 the Brothers purchased a noted show herd of Shorthorn cattle from A. A. Funk of McLean County for \$23,500.

In spite of fluctuating fortunes which at times almost ended the New Melleray enterprise, the monastery has flourished—particularly in recent years. That such an austere order grows in America today is almost unexplainable. Yet even the public at large has seemed to show an interest in the Trappist way of life, if one may so appraise the popularity of Thomas Merton's *Seven Storey Mountain*.

Arms and the Monk! is well written, and in addition to the story of this specific monastery gives detailed information about Trappist monks, their vows, their duties and rigorous way of life. Father Hoffman is the author of five other books, including a historical novel, *Young and Fair Is Iowa*.

S. A. W.

Abraham Lincoln. By Bella Koral. Illustrated by Jay Hyde Barnum and John Alan Maxwell. (Random House: New York, 1952. Pp. [64]. \$1.00.)

Although this is an attractive book for youngsters six to nine it has numerous factual inaccuracies. A few examples will suffice: When Lincoln was first elected to the legislature, Vandalia, not Springfield was the capital. Lincoln had been admitted to the bar before he came to Springfield. The Lincolns had four boys, not three. The information about the debates gives the impression that Lincoln just followed Douglas around: "Wherever Douglas spoke, Lincoln also spoke. These arguments . . . were called 'debates'." And the occasion for the debates is not told. The picture of Lincoln's farewell to Springfield shows Mrs. Lincoln by his side. But she did not leave until a later train.

There are sixty-four pages (the book is not paged) and about two-thirds of the space deals with Lincoln's life before his twenty-first birthday. The illustrations are pleasing as is the writing. It is unfortunate that the known facts of Lincoln's life are given such careless treatment.

S. A. W.

Portrait of An American: Charles G. Dawes. By Bascom N. Timmons. (Henry Holt and Co.: New York, 1953. Pp. 344. \$5.00.)

For many years Charles G. Dawes was the Midwest's leading citizen of distinction. His career spanned the years from McKinley to the second Roosevelt, and included service as a McKinley political manager, Comptroller of the Currency, Chicago banker and gas magnate, head of Pershing's procurement organization, Director of the Budget under Harding, architect of the "Dawes Plan" for German reparations, Vice-President under Coolidge, Ambassador to Britain and President of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation under Hoover.

In these various roles Dawes' capacity for colorful speech and vigorous action made him an almost legendary figure with the public and an unfailing source of interesting copy for newspapermen. His biography should be a major attraction to students of the era but this one will be a disappointment.

Bascom Timmons is Washington correspondent for a number of southern newspapers. He has covered Dawes' long career in twenty-three chapters with eighteen photographs and an index; there is no preface, bibliography, or footnoting. Such academic apparatus is not necessary for a good piece of work. But Mr. Timmons gives no indication of his sources, while the publishers' jacket declares that he "had access to all of General Dawes' papers and diaries, both private and public, and has had the full cooperation of the Dawes family." The book reveals very slight use of the Dawes papers, most of which are deposited at Deering Library of Northwestern University. Further, Mr. Timmons has mingled liberal quotations from Dawes' published journals with various direct, reconstructed, and some fictional quotations apparently gathered in interviews and from memory. To such an extent is the book a patchwork of quotations of Dawes that it could more appropriately be titled, "A Self-Portrait," or "An Autobiography" rather than a *portrait*.

This carelessness is also apparent in such background material as the author provides for Dawes' various activities. There are erroneous references to Theodore Roosevelt, anti-trust activities, banking legislation, and other matters. The errors are never serious, but hardly inspire confidence in the author's reliability.

Mr. Timmons has done a good job of preserving continuity and interest; friends and admirers of General Dawes will find this book fascinating and full of forgotten incidents and sayings. There is a persistent note of praise for Dawes' accomplishments which is not itself offensive. However, coupled to a tendency to exaggerate the importance of his single-handed deeds, it detracts from the dignity of the work and suggests a lack of candor or dis-

crimination in the author. Mr. Timmons has admired Dawes without paying him the higher praise of understanding his achievements.

Northwestern University

JOHN E. PIXTON, JR.

Broad Ax and Bayonet. By Francis Paul Prucha. (Wisconsin Historical Society: Madison, 1953. Pp. xii, 263. \$4.00.)

After the War of 1812 and up to the Civil War a dozen forts were built by the United States Army in northern Illinois, Wisconsin, Iowa and Minnesota. This is the story of these peace-time forts. Little attention is given to Fort Dearborn at Chicago and Fort Armstrong at Rock Island, but peace-time activities were much the same at all of them. With garrisons of but fifty to one hundred men their time was devoted mainly to manual labor—erecting buildings, making surveys and cutting roads. Chopping firewood was an endless chore. Withal it was a monotonous existence for five dollars a month, and desertion and drunkenness were common. Prucha has a well documented account with a good bibliography, illustrations and index.

H. E. P.

Royal Bob, The Life of Robert G. Ingersoll. By C. H. Cramer. (The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc.: Indianapolis, 1952. Pp. 314. \$3.75.)

Robert G. Ingersoll (1833-1899), best known as the foe of religion, spent almost half his life within Illinois. He came to the state in the 1840's with his father, a peripatetic minister, and lived here most of the next thirty years. He taught school in Mt. Vernon and Metropolis, and studied law in Marion. In 1855 he and his brother, Ebon Clark, hung out their shingle in Shawneetown and in 1857 moved to Peoria. In 1860 Robert was the Democratic candidate for representative to Congress. Defeated, he entered the Union Army as a colonel in 1861 and served less than a year, getting his discharge after being captured and paroled by the Confederates. During the years 1867-1869 he served as attorney general of Illinois and in 1868 made an unsuccessful bid for the Republican nomination for governor. In 1877 he followed his brother to Washington. Ebon Clark Ingersoll lived only two years after this, and in 1885 Robert moved to New York where he spent the remainder of his life engaged in the practice of law, which he interrupted with extensive lecture tours.

This volume is a valuable addition to Ingersolliana. There have been three earlier biographies, all unreliable, the later ones merely repeating

the errors of their predecessors. Professor Cramer's judgment of his subject seems to be that he was a likable, nay, a lovable man, but never a great man. As a lawyer he was one of the most successful of his generation but he made no contribution to legal thought. He was not discriminating in his clients as is shown by his part in the Star Route Case, and he seldom used his great talent for swaying juries in the interest of the oppressed and downtrodden. As an opponent of revealed religion Ingersoll was shallow and lacking in originality. His importance was as the popularizer of other men's thinking. In this role his success was unparalleled because of his combination of a photographic memory and an unmatched gift of oratory. He was orthodox itself in political matters.

Cramer clears up many disputed points about the career of "Royal Bob." For example, he shows that Ingersoll's agnosticism did not cost him the Republican nomination of 1868, as is sometimes stated, but rather that he had made no pronouncements on religion before that time. Cramer also goes into the reason for the split between Ingersoll and James G. Blaine which may have lost the presidency for the latter in 1884.

Cramer makes some attempt to portray Ingersoll in the light of the intellectual currents of his day but such an evaluation should have been done in more detail. In a sense Ingersoll, in his attacks on religion, was striking a foe that was already reeling under the blows of science and more critical studies of the Bible. His importance can be understood only against this background.

There are minor lapses such as the rather startling statement (p. 27) that Ingersoll sometimes sat up all night reading Socrates—who never wrote a word. It is regrettable that the notes had to be placed at the end of the volume rather than at the bottom of each page. Also the citations would have been more valuable if several references had not been thrown together into a single note.

Illinois State Historical Library

DONALD F. TINGLEY

Our Christmas Disaster. By C. Edwin Hair. (L. S. Wood Printing Co.: Mt. Vernon, Ill., 1952. Pp. 91.)

This is the record of the terrible coal mine disaster at New Orient Mine No. 2 at West Frankfort, Illinois, on the night of December 21, 1951. Part I is the story, some of it in the words of the survivors. The explosion claimed 119 lives, and there are photographs of nearly all the fatalities and of the survivors who tell how they escaped.

Part II deals with the disaster fund. The "Governor's Fund," the "West

Frankfort Fund," and the "Benton Fund" consolidated their functions under a joint committee known as the "New Orient Disaster Fund Committee." A total of \$201,413.75 had been raised as the book went to press.

Part III is concerned with the investigation into the cause of the disaster and quotes extensively from the official proceedings.

The compiler of this booklet, C. Edwin Hair, is the mayor of Benton. It is a well illustrated account of the disaster. The attractive and dignified cover was designed by William Robert Youngman of West Frankfort, a free lance artist, graduate of the University of Illinois, and a teacher in Marion, Illinois.

S. A. W.

My Home Town. A Brief History of Central City, Illinois, 1852-1952. By Clark W. Seibel. (Edwards Brothers, Inc.: Ann Arbor, Mich., 1952. Pp. 105. \$1.50.)

Here are recorded events in the history of Central City in Marion County, Illinois, for the past one hundred years. Residents and former residents should find this an entertaining volume. There is a map of the community showing the location of the old houses and landmarks.

A chapter is devoted to the State Fair which in 1858 was held just west of Central City and which both Lincoln and Douglas attended. There are also chapters on early industries, Central City churches, schools, old houses, and the Illinois Central Railroad.

Compiling a volume of this kind is largely a labor of love, but a valuable one. Local historical societies could well take up projects of this sort and gather all possible information about their community.

S. A. W.

Steamboat on the River. By Darwin Teilhet. (William Sloane Associates: New York, 1952. Pp. 256. \$3.50.)

The "splendid upper cabin steamer *Talisman*" of 150 tons, arrived at Portland Landing, March 24, 1832, the only steamboat to unload goods within six miles of Springfield, Illinois. Lincoln assisted in piloting the boat to and from Beardstown to the Landing, and received forty dollars for the 200-mile round trip.

These are the bare facts of Lincoln's association with this boat enterprise which ended a few days before he enlisted for service in the Black Hawk War. Teilhet's short novel is interesting but takes great liberties with the known facts (see *The Abraham Lincoln Quarterly*, September, 1943, pages 319-29). For example, his cargo list differs from that filed in the Sangamon Circuit Court by Vincent Bogue, the owner, in a suit against James Pollack, the pilot.

H. E. P.



ANNUAL MEETING OCTOBER 9 AND 10

Tentative plans for the annual meeting of the Illinois State Historical Society, which will be held at Mattoon on October 9 and 10, have been made by Alexander Summers, a director of the Society and chairman of the local arrangements committee.

MacKinlay Kantor, author of *Turkey in the Straw* (verse), *The Voice of Bugle Ann*, *The Romance of Rosy Ridge*, *Long Remember*, and the recent *Daughter of Bugle Ann*, will be the speaker at the annual dinner on Friday evening in the new Mattoon Civic Auditorium.

The program will include a tour on Saturday morning of the Lincoln landmarks in Coles County: the Thomas Lincoln Home, Lincoln Log Cabin State Park, the Moore Home, site of the Lincoln-Douglas debate in Charleston and the Coles County Courthouse. The guides will be Dr. Charles H. Coleman and Dr. Glenn H. Seymour, of Eastern Illinois State College at Charleston.

Registration will begin at 10 A.M. Friday at the U. S. Grant Hotel in Mattoon and a historical workshop will precede luncheon at the Civic Auditorium, followed by the business meeting. A luncheon Saturday on the campus of Eastern Illinois, with Dr. William J. Petersen of the State Historical Society of Iowa as speaker, will conclude the session.

SOUTHERN ILLINOIS HOSPITALITY GIVEN SPRING TOUR

The Illinois State Historical Society's spring tour, held at Harrisburg and Eldorado on May 8 and 9, was made particularly successful by good weather and the completeness of arrangements by J. Ward Barnes and his local committee. A useful twenty-page guide book and map was prepared

by John W. Allen, a director of the Society and curator of History, Southern Illinois University Museum, and furnished to the visitors by the University.

The meeting opened at the Harrisburg Masonic Temple on Friday, where an old-fashioned "Southern" luncheon of four-year-old hickory smoked ham, cornbread, turnip greens and other spring delicacies, was served. John Foster, president of the Saline County Historical Society, presided and introduced Attorney Scerial Thompson, past president of the State Society, who gave an informative talk on the history of Saline County.

The group then departed on a twenty-five-mile bus tour, passing the sites of the first coal mines in Saline County and Big Saline United Baptist Church (founded in 1854). At the Forest Service Recreation Area the busses were parked, and the ascent was made on foot along winding paths to "Old Stone Face." This is a rock formation on the rim of the bluff that extends south from Cave Hill. On the return trip, the busses passed the site of the Somerset-Rude Blockhouse, built in 1814, near which occurred the last skirmish between the settlers and the Shawnee Indians.

At the dinner Friday evening in the Eldorado Township High School, Philip L. Keister of Freeport, president of the Society, presided. Paul M. Angle, director of the Chicago Historical Society, gave an interesting and entertaining address on "The Pleasures of History."

The all-day Saturday tour by land and water, directed by John Foster, John W. Allen, J. Ward Barnes, Louis Aaron, and Curtis G. Small, editor of the *Harrisburg Register*, stopped first at Shawneetown, old and new. The State Bank Building erected in 1838, the Posey Building, and the John Marshall residence where Marshall established a bank in 1816 under charter from the legislature of Illinois Territory, were pointed out.

The tour continued past the Old Slave House on Hickory Hill near Equality and Nigger Spring, site of centuries of salt making by Indians and white men, to Cave-in-Rock, where as early as 1797 a band of outlaws had established a headquarters. They would waylay flatboatmen on their way to New Orleans, seize their cargoes, and often kill the owners. At Cave-in-Rock State Park, after a lunch of fresh Ohio River catfish, the cave on the river bank was explored. The party then boarded the Cave-in-Rock ferry which carried them twelve miles down the river to Elizabethtown, where they visited the Rose Hotel, continuously operated since 1812. On the way back to Harrisburg many local historic sites were viewed, including the Illinois Furnace where pigiron was made from 1837 to 1883.

The meeting closed with a dinner at the Kurto Country Club. J. Ward Barnes presided, and Dr. Frank L. Owsley, Friedman Professor of Southern History at the University of Alabama, read a challenging paper on "A Southerner Looks at Lincoln."

JUNIOR HISTORIANS RECEIVE AWARDS

Governor William G. Stratton presented Junior Historian of the Year awards to thirty-eight young Illinoisans in brief ceremonies in the auditorium of the Centennial Building in Springfield, on Saturday afternoon, May 23. The award-winning articles, drawings and photographs were selected as the best of 600 submitted for publication during the school year in the *Illinois Junior Historian* magazine, sponsored by the Illinois State Historical Society.

Before the presentation, which climaxed the sixth year of the Junior Historian program, the Governor made a brief address on the value of the study of history. Dr. Donald F. Tingley, director of the program, gave a summary of its growth for the four hundred parents, students and teachers who attended. Dr. Harry E. Pratt, State Historian, told of the collection of Lincoln documents and other resources of the State Historical Library.

The thirty-eight award winners represented twenty-two schools in nineteen communities, a larger number than in any previous year. Four of the young historians had been cited once before: Todd Moore of Freeport and Elaine Mortier of Moline in 1951, and Carol Johnson of Alton and Ronald Chambers of Moline in 1952. The complete list follows:

Alton: Carol Johnson, Roger Mathus and Kenneth Vieth, East Junior High School; Doran B. Chappee, Janet Grube and Stephany Roller, West Junior High School.

Carrollton: Artricia L. Baker, Carrollton Public School.

Charleston: Susan Iknayan, Campus Elementary School.

Chicago: Ted Ehrlich and Kenneth Johnson, Harvard School for Boys.

Dixon: Linda Harvey and Janene La Ferti, North Central School.

Dwight: Betsy Lord and Mary Elaine Morehart, East Side School.

East Moline: Leona Brown and Fred Stulir, D. B. Hoffman School.

Freeport: Carol Beldin, Judy Mathey and Todd Moore, Freeport Junior High School.

Jacksonville: Ruth Albright and Patsy Mann, David Prince Junior High School.

LaSalle: Douglas Banko and Walter Menning, Lincoln School.

Madison: Maryanna Ulfers, Madison Junior High School.

Moline: Ronald Chambers, Elaine Mortier and Diane Oswood, Calvin Coolidge Junior High School.

Normal: Jean Golliday, Central School.

Oregon: Brian Doyle and Ronald Fox, Oregon Elementary School.

Park Ridge: Paul Lindstrom, Abraham Lincoln Junior High School.

Polo: Beverly Turek, Polo Grade School.

Rock Island: Ronald De Vrieze, Central Junior High School; Tom Fryxell and Mary Ann Kemenyffy, Franklin Junior High School; and Dave Hill, Washington Junior High School.

Tallula: Bobby Stout, Tallula Consolidated School.

Vandalia: Jean Le Duc, Central Junior High School.

INDEXES TO HISTORICAL PUBLICATIONS

A two-volume index to the first fifty volumes of the *Publications of the Illinois State Historical Library and Society* has been compiled by James N. Adams of the Library staff, and will be available at \$2.50 per volume about September 1. This lithographed index contains more than 1,300 pages with about 50,000 entries. The books will be bound in dark blue paper with gold lettering on the backbones, and will be of the same size as the *Index to the Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* (Volumes I-XXV), published in 1950.

The new index covers the *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society* and *Papers in Illinois History*, as well as seven other volumes included in the *Publications* series, beginning with *Newspapers Published in Illinois Prior to 1860* (published in 1899) and ending with *The Civil War Diary of James T. Ayers* (1947). It will be invaluable to any person or library possessing more than two or three volumes of the series.

The index to Volume XLV (1952) of this *Journal* has just come from the printers, and will soon be mailed to those members who customarily bind each volume. This 24-page index may be had without charge by anyone who desires it.

For either of these indexes address the Illinois State Historical Society, Centennial Building, Springfield, Illinois. Indexes will be mailed to library members without request.

ANDRUS AND DEERE CONTRACTS

Mr. Leonard A. Andrus, of Portland, Oregon, has placed in the Illinois State Historical Library nine documents of great historical interest. Most important are three agreements made between John Deere and Leonard Andrus at Grand Detour, Illinois. On March 20, 1843, they contracted to "become copartners together in the art . . . of Blacksmithing, plough-making and all things thereto belonging" for three years, each partner to furnish half of the stock and to receive a company note at the rate of six per cent. Deere was to furnish his blacksmith shop and devote full time to the said company. An agreement of October 26, 1844, among Andrus, Deere, and Horace H. Paine, shows that the firm of L. Andrus & Co. had taken Paine in as a partner on payment of \$1,000. Andrus and Deere put into the company "the Blacksmith shop and furnace . . . consisting of Castings, Patterns, Flasks, Tools, Iron, Coal."

Other papers in the Andrus gift include the specifications and contract for the building of St. Peter's Church in Grand Detour, a memorandum of

its pew holders, and deeds and contracts of the Grand Detour Hydraulic Company and the Rock River Mill Company.

TWO PLAYS FOR NEW SALEM

"Lincoln at New Salem," an outdoor drama, will be presented at New Salem State Park, July 22 through July 26, and July 29 through August 2. Sponsored by the New Salem Lincoln League it will be given in the Kelso Hollow Theater at the Park entrance. Lawrence E. Tucker of Bloomington will direct the production. General admission will be \$1.00; reserved seats, \$1.50; and children will be admitted for twenty-five cents. This drama is a revision of "Out of the Wilderness" by Joe Abrams and Jacob Bentkover, given by the League in 1940. Del Yarnell of Chicago will portray Lincoln, and Al Culver of Athens, Jack Kelso.

The Abe Lincoln Players will stage Robert E. Sherwood's *Abe Lincoln in Illinois* at Kelso Hollow on the evenings of "State Fair Week," August 14-23. Admissions are: adults, 75 cents plus tax, and children, 25 cents plus tax. G. William Horsley will play the part of Abraham Lincoln.

THREE LETTERS BY ROBERT T. LINCOLN

Mrs. J. Dushane Penniman of Baltimore, Maryland, has added some interesting letters to the John T. Stuart-Milton Hay Papers in the Historical Library. Of unusual interest are three letters of Robert T. Lincoln. The first, written on May 8, 1865, four days after the burial of his father, President Abraham Lincoln, thanked Stuart for his kindness upon that sad occasion. Another letter to Stuart was written July 26, 1882, a few days after the funeral of Mrs. Abraham Lincoln. On April 9, 1890, Robert T. Lincoln, then United States ambassador to Great Britain, wrote to John T. Stuart, Jr., of the death of his son Abraham "Jack" Lincoln.

John T. Stuart wrote a long letter to Mrs. Abraham Lincoln concerning the tomb being planned for her husband in Oak Ridge Cemetery, and the success of the National Lincoln Monument Association in collecting funds for its erection. The letter is dated July 14, 1865.

There are also six letters of Dr. Charles Hay of Warsaw, Illinois, to his sisters in Springfield in 1862-1863. Dr. Hay's son John was Lincoln's assistant private secretary from 1860 to 1865.

LETTERS TO OZIAS MATHER HATCH

Mrs. Pascal E. Hatch, daughter-in-law of Ozias Mather Hatch, Secretary of State of Illinois from 1857 to 1865, has presented to the Historical Library

more than a hundred letters received by Mr. Hatch. There are letters from his brother Reuben M. Hatch, from Dorothea Dix, Cassius M. Clay, General Thomas E. G. Ransom, Lyman Trumbull, and nine letters from John G. Nicolay, four of which were written while Nicolay was private secretary to President Lincoln. Several letters are from Charles Philbrick, who left Hatch's employ in September, 1864, to become a clerk in the White House. There is an account book, 1857-1866, which has some private records of Nicolay and a page listing money spent on Lincoln's behalf in the campaign against Douglas in 1858.

YATES BIOGRAPHY AND AUTOBIOGRAPHY

Mrs. John L. Pickering of Springfield, daughter of Governor Richard Yates (1901-1905) and granddaughter of Richard Yates, Civil War governor, has given the Historical Library a copy of her father's two-volume, 700-page manuscript "Serving the Republic." Mrs. Pickering assisted her father in the preparation of the work, half of which is a biography of her grandfather and the other half her father's autobiography. Of special interest are more than fifty important letters written to the Civil War Governor, which are given complete in the manuscript, including three previously unknown communications from Abraham Lincoln.

Mrs. Pickering has presented the Library with photostatic copies of some fifteen letters of William H. Herndon to his good friend, the Civil War Governor.

NEW SALEM IN FILM FOR EUROPEANS

Scenes for an educational film were taken this spring at New Salem State Park, with one of Austria's leading actors, Pepi Meinrad, starring. Harlington Wood, Jr., of Springfield, who took the part of Lincoln in "Forever This Land!", appeared in the New Salem scenes.

The completed film will depict a European visiting historic shrines and leading cities of America, and the dialogue will be in German. Directed by Ernst Heusesman, with Hans Schneeberger as cameraman, it is being produced by Telenews Productions of New York through the cultural exchange program of the U. S. State Department and will be distributed free to the theaters of Europe.

BOOKS FOR ILLINOIS LIBRARIES

Illinois libraries desiring copies of *Illinois in the Second World War* by Mary Watters, recently published in two volumes by the Illinois State Historical Library, or copies of *Lincoln Bibliography 1839-1939* by Jay

Monaghan, published by the Historical Library in 1945, can receive them without charge by writing to Harry E. Pratt, State Historian, Illinois State Historical Library, Springfield, Illinois. The supply is limited.

LETTERS TO ISAAC FUNK

Mrs. William G. McCullough, Bloomington, Illinois, has given to the Historical Library thirty-five letters written to her grandfather, Isaac Funk, the famous cattle king and landowner in McLean County from 1823 to his death in 1865.

The letters deal principally with Funk's famous speech in the Illinois Senate in February, 1863. Funk vigorously denounced all the non-supporters of the federal government in its hour of trial and said he was ready to whip them individually, even though he was a man of sixty-five. There are letters from prominent persons in McLean County and a long letter from Governor Richard Yates, December 10, 1864, concerning the election of Yates to the United States Senate. All of Senator Funk's papers were lost when his home burned in 1889, except these letters which were in a piece of furniture carried from the house.

ADDITIONS TO THE GRIERSON PAPERS

Mrs. Walter Frank of Jacksonville has added some five hundred letters to the General Benjamin H. Grierson Papers in the Historical Library. Thirty of these letters were written by General Grierson, but the bulk of them are by Mrs. Grierson to her husband and her children, and by Grierson's aids, from Fort Sill in Oklahoma, Forts Davis and Concho in Texas, and Whipple Barracks in Arizona. Of special interest are twenty letters of the General's twelve-year-old son Robert, written from Fort Sill in 1871 to his aunt. Some seventy-five letters were written by Louisa Semple to her brother General Grierson from Jacksonville, Illinois, 1866-1874.

LAST NIECE OF THE LINCOLNS

Mrs. Elodie Helm [Waller] Lewis, last living niece of President and Mrs. Abraham Lincoln died at the age of ninety-four years, and was buried in Lexington, Kentucky, June 15, 1953. Elodie was a sister of Katherine and Ben Hardin Helm, children of General Ben Hardin Helm, a graduate of West Point in 1851, who was offered a place in the northern forces by Lincoln but joined the Confederacy and was killed at Chickamauga. Their mother, Emilie Todd, born November 11, 1836, a half sister of Mary Todd, was the

favorite Todd relative of the Lincolns. She visited in the Lincoln home in Springfield for six months in 1854 and twice in the White House during the Civil War. Emilie married Ben Helm in March, 1856; she died February 20, 1930.

FOUR LETTERS FROM JOHN RUSSELL

Mrs. Howard Hobson, Greenfield, Illinois, has presented to the Historical Library four interesting letters written by John Russell (1793-1863), early editor and educator of Illinois. Russell's letter to Thomas Gregg, Grafton, Illinois, January 10, 1839, was published in the Spring, 1951, issue of this *Journal* (pages 33-35). Two letters to his son William, written from East Feliciana, Louisiana, March 19, 1843 and January 13, 1844, and one to his son Spencer, from Carrollton, Illinois, November 26, 1850, were also printed in that issue (pages 38-45).

Benjamin P. Thomas, author of the best-selling biography, *Abraham Lincoln*, and trustee of the Illinois State Historical Library, received honorary degrees from Knox College and Northwestern University in June.

A marker on state highway 13, one mile south of Coulterville, commemorates the route of George Rogers Clark and his band of soldiers through Perry County in February, 1779. It was unveiled on April 23, the ceremonies conducted by the DuQuoin Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution. The marker was furnished by the Illinois State Historical Society.

ACTIVITIES OF LOCAL HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

A Lincoln program was held by the Alton Area Historical Society in February. "Sidelights on Lincoln the Debater, and Lincoln the President" was the subject for discussion. Several papers were read.

In March the theme was "Old Steamboat Days." Captain Roy L. Barkhau was the principal speaker, and photographs of old-time steamboats were shown.

The Society met at Haskell House in Alton on Sunday, May 10. The topic discussed was "Early Musical Organizations in Alton" and six speakers took different phases of the city's musical history. Mr. and Mrs. Harry L. Meyer reported on the State Historical Society meeting at Harrisburg-Eldorado.

The Cairo Historical Association held its Magnolia Festival during the latter part of May. Festival week was a colorful time with garden tours and the crowning of a magnolia queen.

An exhibit "The National Game," was held in February at the Chicago Historical Society Museum. It dramatized ninety years of professional baseball. Another special exhibit of lithographs and engravings of Illinois towns and cities of the nineteenth century was also held during the winter months.

George Cassell addressed the West Side (Chicago) Historical Society in May, on Williamsburg, Virginia, and showed slides of his recent trip to that historic city.

Reminiscences of early Woodlawn were related by Vernon Slater at the February meeting of the Historical Society of Woodlawn (Chicago). Mr. Slater is program chairman and vice-president of the group. In May slides of the World's Columbian Exposition (1893) were shown.

The museum and library of the Edwards County Historical Society is in the birthplace of former Governor Louis L. Emmerson in Albion. It contains a remarkable collection of items dating back to the English colonists who settled in Albion in 1818. Edgar L. Dukes, resident custodian, is the author of two books on Edwards County.

The Edwardsville Chapter of the Madison County Historical Society held a Lincoln program in February. Mrs. Nina Ferguson reviewed *The Unknown Lincoln* by Dale Carnegie. In March Mrs. W. H. Morgan read a paper on "The Goshen Settlement, 1800."

The Evanston Historical Society had an appropriate February exhibit concerning Abraham Lincoln and his visit to Evanston in 1860. On display have been portraits of Evanston's first practicing physician, Dr. Jacob Watson Ludlam and his wife Mary Dennis Ludlam, which were given to the Society by their granddaughter, Mrs. George O. How of Fort Worth, Texas.

Galena's oldest citizen, Mrs. John Swing, formerly Louise Maxeiner, celebrated her one-hundredth birthday on April 1. Mrs. Swing remembers

that her father, an immigrant from Germany, made a uniform for General Grant.

On Sunday, April 26, Galena citizens had an informal open house at the Grant Leather Goods store. The store is a replica of the shop where Grant clerked in 1860-1861. Ulysses S. Grant III, grandson of the eighteenth president, visited the town for the occasion, which also commemorated General Grant's birthday.

The Glencoe Historical Society displayed in March a collection of old cooperage and farming implements. The occasion was the eighty-fourth anniversary of the village charter. The implements were exhibited in Wienecke's Hardware Store on Vernon Street.

Congressman Sid Simpson was elected president of the Greene County Historical Society in February. Other officers are: Mrs. James Ford, first vice-president; S. E. Pierson, second vice-president; Mrs. Henry Borlin, secretary; and J. J. Eldred, treasurer. Directors elected include: Mrs. L. A. Dickson, Mrs. Madeline Dickey, Mrs. P. J. Achenbach, Mrs. Anna Hubbard, G. K. Hutchens, and Robert Black. Junior historians are: Mrs. Edith Allen, Adrian Read, and Guy Petty.

An essay contest was sponsored by the Society in the spring for high school and junior high school students. Patrick Ashlock was the only winner in the high school field. In the junior division Artricia Baker won first prize, Kent Black, second, and David Borlin, third. Honorable mention went to Raymona Houlette and Robert Pinkerton.

An eighty-two pound nugget of almost pure copper was found in Erienna township of Grundy County. The nugget, which was unearthed by Nels Hexdall, was donated to the Grundy County Historical Association.

Irving Dilliard spoke on Elijah Lovejoy at a program on February 22, in Jacksonville for the fiftieth anniversary of the Carnegie Public Library. Dilliard stressed the fight for freedom of expression and freedom of the press for which the martyred Lovejoy died. Following the address the library held open house.

Mrs. Philip Newkirk spoke to the Jefferson County Historical Society in March. The meeting was held in the Junior High School in Mount Vernon. Mrs. Newkirk reviewed Christiana Tillson's *A Woman's Story of Pioneer Illinois*.

Officers of the Kankakee County Historical Society elected in February are: Ralph E. Francis, president; Herman Snow, vice-president; Len H. Small, vice-president; Gilbert Hertz, treasurer; and Mrs. Fannie Still, secretary and curator.

At the February meeting Dr. Willis Snowbarger spoke on the early fur trade in the Kankakee area. Movies were shown of the fur trade in French Canada.

A new addition to the Historical and Arts Building is being built. Funds for its construction were donated to the Park Board by Mr. and Mrs. Leslie Small.

Wilbur C. Gerke spoke to the Land o' Goshen Historical Society on March 1. He traced back the ownership of the rich bottomland farms in Madison County to the French claims. Mr. and Mrs. Lesley Marks were hosts for the meeting which was held in Edwardsville.

Wayne Townley was the speaker at the LaSalle County Historical Society in February. His topic, "Two Judges of Ottawa," dealt with the lives of T. Lyle Dickey and John D. Caton.

An ambitious program is planned for the year as four cities and towns in the county will mark their centennials in 1953. They are Ottawa, Mendota, Tonica and Wenona.

Dr. Glenn H. Seymour spoke on "Lincoln and Douglas" before the Logan County Historical Society in March at the meeting in Elkhart. Following the talk a tea was held at the home of Mr. and Mrs. William Drake on Elkhart Hill.

The Madison County Historical Society honored Edward Coles in a program at Edwardsville on April 12. The occasion observed the dedication of the marker placed on the Lincoln School grounds at the corner of Main and J streets, site of the courthouse where Coles was brought to trial by his political enemies. Irving Dilliard gave the dedicatory address on "Edward Coles, the Virginian Who Made Illinois a Free State." C. C. Jones of Edwardsville spoke on "Some Impressions of Governor Coles," and Jessie Springer presented "Reminiscences of Lower Town" by Mrs. Florence Springer and Georgia Lusk.

Bernard J. Cunningham spoke on "The New York Stock Exchange—Past and Present," at the February meeting of the Oak Park Historical Society. A moving picture, "What Makes Us Tick," illustrated his talk.

"Games of Our Golden Days" was the topic for the February meeting of the Peoria Historical Society. A discussion of games of childhood days followed.

Dr. Harry E. Pratt addressed the Historical Society of Quincy and Adams County on April 19. His topic was, "Manuscripts in Illinois History." Recently acquired manuscripts and books were on display in the Society's historical building.

Officers of the recently organized Rockton Township (Winnebago County) Historical Society are: Guy Hopkins, president; Mrs. Stella Truman, first vice-president; Don Frutiger, second vice-president; the Rev. Claude Warren, third vice-president; Mrs. Hester Bigelow, secretary; and Paul Sprague, treasurer. The directors are: Mrs. Mary Graham, Mrs. Lyle Shotliff and Mrs. Rhett Goss.

Reports were made on the scientific and historic works of the late Clarence Bonnell at the February meeting of the Saline County Historical Society. Bonnell was founder and first president of the Society. Officers of the Society elected at the meeting are: John F. Foster, president; Edward L. Heister, first vice-president; and Mrs. Fred Lindsay, second vice-president. Directors are: R. C. Davenport, Fred Wasson, J. Ward Barnes, Alvina Shestak and William H. Farley.

John Allen spoke to the group in March. He discussed the diary of Ben Wiley, a soldier in both the Mexican and Civil wars, and long a resident of southern Illinois. The diary was discovered in the attic of Wiley's house in Jackson County near the entrance to Giant City State Park. "Folk Lore of Saline County" was Mrs. Leo Richmond's topic in May.

The Stephenson County Historical Society and the Freeport Park Board have agreed on transferring the Society's museum and grounds to the park board. The board is to maintain the grounds and the exterior of the building and the Stephenson County Historical Society is to supervise the museum and operate it for the general public. Details of the joint management are in contract form.

At the April meeting Clifford L. Lord, director of the Wisconsin State Historical Society, was the speaker. His topic was "Localized History." Localized history is the story of what happened in a community, how it happened, and, most important of all, who made it happen.

Officers of the Stephenson County Historical Society elected in April are:

Mrs. E. G. McCulloch, president; Mrs. Frank N. Keck, first vice-president; Mrs. Robert F. Koenig, second vice-president; Ruth P. Hughes, third vice-president; Philip L. Keister, secretary; and Mrs. S. E. Raines, treasurer. The following were elected to honorary membership on the board of directors: Mrs. J. Hewitt Rosentiel, J. R. Jackson and Harold Baltzer.

Officers of the Swedish Historical Society of Rockford are: Martin R. Wall, president; Carl P. Sandstrom, first vice-president; and Axel Ney, Mrs. Alida Carlson, and Mrs. Elsa Nyberg, vice-presidents; Herman G. Nelson, secretary; and Arvid V. Peterson, treasurer. At the tenth annual meeting in April, Clifford L. Lord was the principal speaker.

The Winnetka Town Meeting was the topic for discussion at the February meeting of the Winnetka Historical Society. The organization was a social and cultural rather than a political group. It was founded in 1890 and continued until 1910.

NEW MEMBERS OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

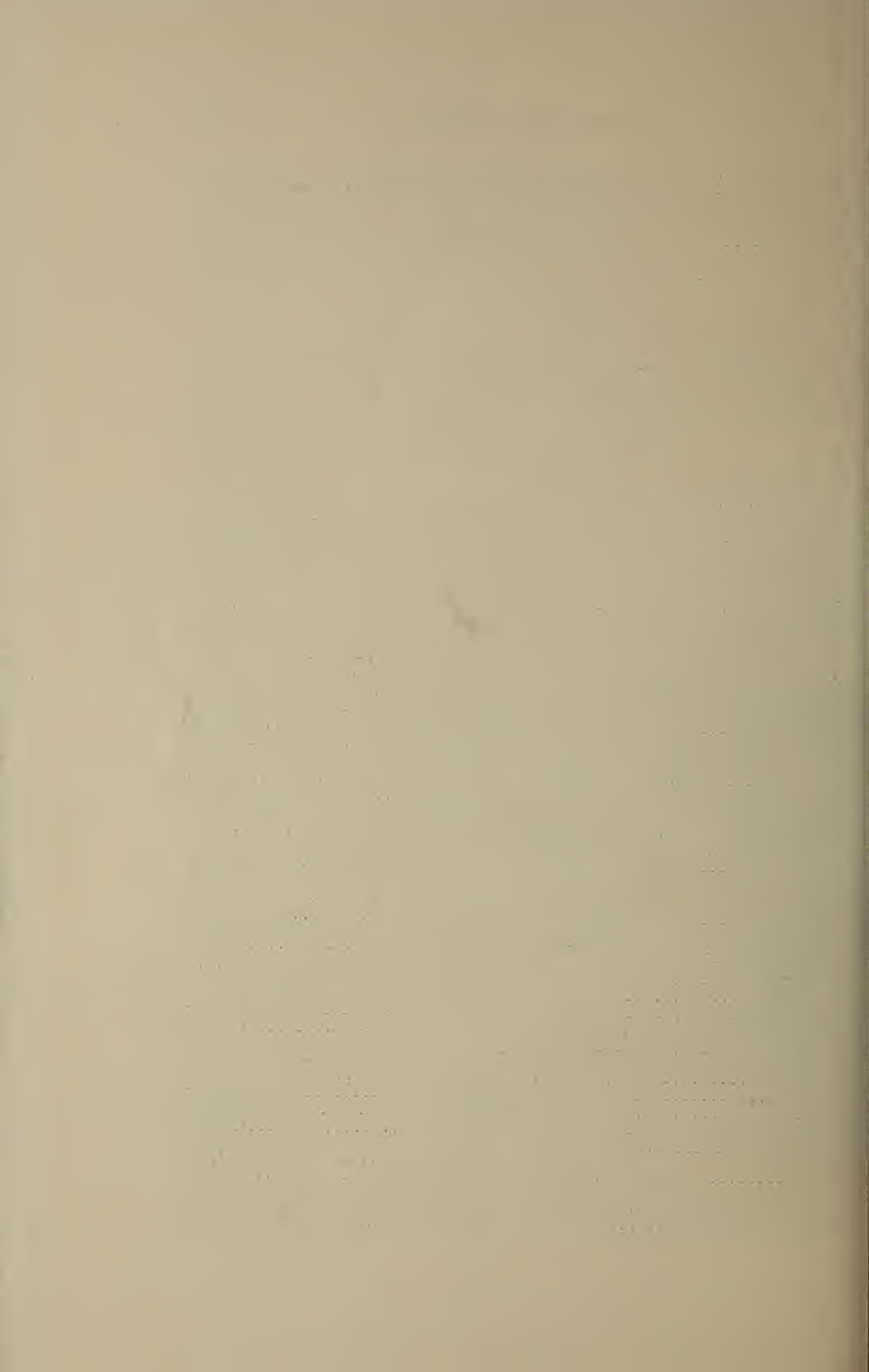
The Illinois State Historical Society recently added seven names to its list of life members to make the present total sixty-nine. Since January 1 there have been 128 new annual members. Nearly 500 former members of the Abraham Lincoln Association are now members of the Society. The size of the *Journal* has been increased from the 96 pages of the past few years to 112 pages per issue, and more space is now being devoted to Lincoln material. (The life membership fee is \$50 and annual dues \$3.) The seven new life members are:

Adams, James N.....Taylorville	Plain, Eleanor.....Aurora
Harper, Josephine L.....Madison, Wis.	Ritz, William H.....Cleveland, Ohio
Penniman, Mrs. J.	Schaefer, Carl W.....Cleveland, Ohio
Dushane.....Baltimore, Md.	Travous, R. Louise.....Edwardsville

NEW MEMBERS OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY SINCE JANUARY 1

Anderson, C. H. C.....Dallas, Texas	Boxerman, Ben.....St. Louis, Mo.
Armstrong, Mrs. Gertrude C.....Decatur	Brooker, Mrs. Everett.....Elkhart
Bergstrom, Burton M.....Chicago	Brooker, Mrs. Oswald.....Mt. Pulaski
Berkowitz, Mrs. A. I.....Mattoon	Burlingham, J. A.....New Lenox
Bevan, Mr. and Mrs. Frank S.....Atlanta	Calvin, Donald.....Charleston
Bigelow, Burton.....New York City	Carr, Walter S.....Chicago
Bittner, Mark R.....Allentown, Pa.	Catron, John H.....Charleston
Blair, Harry C.....Portland, Ore.	Cobbett, Frederick B.....Morristown, N. J.
Blatchford, Edward F.....Chicago	Coe, S. W.....Springfield
Boos, John E.....Albany, N. Y.	Coleman, J. Winston, Jr...Lexington, Ky.

- Collier, Arnold D. St. Petersburg, Fla.
 Colvin, James C. Urbana
 Connole, Mrs. Marguerite P. Madison
 Crumlish, Hazel W. Crystal Lake
 Custard, S. F. Allentown, Pa.
- Daehler, John C. Boone, Iowa
 Davies, E. W. Danville
 Davis, Mrs. Frank W. Hookdale
 Deeg, George. Nauvoo
 Devereux, Walter J. Oak Park
 Dittus, Mrs. Edward. Mt. Pulaski
 Dobson, Mrs. Myrtle. Lincoln
 Duff, John J. New York City
 Duncan, Carter E. Fort Bragg, N. C.
- Farrington, C. T. San Pedro, Calif.
 Ferry, Mrs. Francis. Jacksonville
 Fishbein, Justin M. Springfield
 Flood, Leo J. Jacksonville
 Freeland, Paul B. Nashville, Tenn.
 Fullerton, Leslie. Lincoln
- Gartley, Grace. Chicago
 Geis, George F. New York City
 Gibson, Guy J. Urbana
 Golden, Harry G. Richmond, Ind.
 Gunn, Carroll D. LaSalle
- Haberer, Mrs. Gordon D. Chicago
 Hance, Wayne. Toledo
 Handlin, John S. Springfield
 Hansell, John L. Ambler, Pa.
 Harris, Thomas. Chicago
 Harts, Mr. and Mrs. D. H. Lincoln
 Hault, Agnes. Chrisman
 Helton, Viola L. Metamora
 Herman, Anne M. Decatur
 Hilgendorf, Ben. Emden
 Hoff, Lawrence. Springfield
 Holloway, R. N. Bement
 Hora, Jerry R. Hinsdale
 Howell, Alfred C. Bethel, Conn.
 Huggins, M. J. Edwardsville
- Ide, Mrs. Roy M. Springfield
- Jackson, Opal L. Decatur
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- Karno, David. Chicago
 King, Roy. Chicago
 Kline, Thomas A. Jacksonville
 Knudson, Mrs. T. J. Springfield
 Kobillard, Amos H. Kankakee
- Litt, Sol. Chicago
- McArthur, W. Selim. Elkhart
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- McConnell, William. East Orange, N. J.
 McNamara, Hazel J. Springfield
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 May, Ansley I. West Lafayette, Ind.
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- Ransdell, Mrs. E. C. Jacksonville
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- Saucerman, Robert C. Normal
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 Schooler, Lee. Chicago
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 Shultz, Edith. Winnetka
 Shurtleff, Flavel H. Peoria
 Smith, Amy E. Fillmore, Calif.
 Smith, Ray D. Chicago
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 Stine, Ralph E. Lancaster, Pa.
 Svenson, Harold. Lincoln
- Taylor, John L. Springfield
 Tecklenburg, F. J. Belleville
 Thomas, W. Harold. Alton
 Turk, Paul. Oak Park
- University Club Chicago
- Vandevender, W. H. Mt. Pulaski
 Van Hoesen, Henry B. Providence, R. I.
 Venell, Marion Galesburg
 Voight, John G. Chicago
- Wacaser, Mr. and Mrs. A. C. Lincoln
 Welker, Donald F. Ashland, Wis.
 Wells, John K. Decatur
 Wood, William J. Batavia
 Woolpy, Max. Chicago
- Yoder, Ira D. Akron, Ohio
 Youngren, James V. Wataga
- Zachary, Mrs. Herma. Jacksonville
 Zoss, A. O. Berkeley Heights, N. J.



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AUTUMN 1953

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NOT WITHOUT THY WONDROUS STORY, ILLINOIS

BY ALLAN NEVINS

ILLINOIS, they say, is flat. It has no mountain peaks, no fiords, no vales rivaling Kashmir or Tempe. In McLean, Cass and Adams counties, the prairie just rolls on and on. The history and social life of the state also are pronounced by some observers a bit flat. For the most part Illinois has enjoyed plump, uneventful years. The people of Aurora, Bloomington, Quincy and Carmi appear in outward aspect much alike; to the Southerner they seem a little flat of speech, and to the Yankee rather flat of temperament. Flat, flat, flat, say the critics, repeating the revised version of Kipling:

Oh, East is East, and West is West,
But the Middle West is *terrible*.

In truth, however, this verdict is wide of the mark. The Illinois landscape is actually full of beauty; the history, temperament, and character of Illinoisans are in no sense flat. The state has qualities of its own which merit a more precise analysis.

Allan Nevins was born at Camp Point, Adams County, and began his career as a teacher and writer at the University of Illinois, his alma mater. He received an honorary doctor of laws degree at the commencement exercises on June 21, at which he was the speaker. This is the paper he delivered. Nevins has been professor of American History at Columbia University since 1931 and has written and edited more than thirty books on historical subjects—two of which have been awarded Pulitzer Prizes for biography. He is at present working on the fifth volume of his history of the Civil War era (Ordeal of the Union, 2 vols., 1947; The Emergence of Lincoln, 2 vols., 1950).

When the Jesuit missionaries came to the Illinois country, they referred to the landscape as a sea of grass and flowers. When Charles Dickens visited the young state, he was eager to view the great Looking-Glass Prairie east of Lebanon, long a much publicized wonder of nature. The prairies seemed at times to mirror the calm blue sky. But when a breeze sprang up in the Ozarks and crossed the Mississippi shore, or when a northwest wind whistled down from Minnesota to the Rock River, the land ceased to seem flat. The endless miles of grass—and later of grain—sprang into life; they rippled in long undulating swells, until they seemed, as Francis Grierson writes in *The Valley of Shadows*, a rolling sea. As the wind rose the sea became stormy; the grass lifted in heavier billows, and in the distance the tossing branches of a copse along some stream recalled a flight of sea gulls against the horizon. Or, on a sultry day, Nature piled up in the west high ranges of cloud, inky black below, dazzling white at the crest; and these vapory Alps, to the music of their own artillery, swept conqueringly across the land.

We have no fiords. But the watcher on Lake Michigan's shore gazes out on an inland sea that joins Illinois to all the oceans of the world. We have no bays. But to stand on the bluff at John Hay's Warsaw, where the Mississippi drops from the north over the Keokuk rapids, its never-ending flow linking the iron ranges of the distant Mesabi with the cane fields of far-off Louisiana, binding North and South with an indissoluble ribbon, is to gain a sense of the pulse beat of the continent that is discernible nowhere else. An airplane pilot hovering above Madison County can see the junction of three great streams, the Missouri, Mississippi and Illinois; a meeting-place of continental powers, "where philosophers might sit and ponder on the mysteries of time and eternity." We have no Vale of Ida. But the valleys of the Spoon, the Sangamon, the Kaskaskia, offer numberless shady nooks, full of hickory and papaw, of squirrels and doves, of buttercup and goldenrod.

Even falser than the suggestion of a mediocre landscape is the concept of mediocrity in Illinois history. Many events that at the time seemed tame take on, in perspective, a certain grandeur. Carl Schurz in his autobiography relates that in the fall of 1858 he boarded a train running from Galesburg to Quincy; some flat, dusty cars carrying men through flat, dusty cornfields to flat, dusty errands. Suddenly he observed a commotion among his fellow passengers, who sprang from their seats to cluster about a tall man who had just entered. They hailed him with jovial shouts: "Hello, Abe, how are you?" and he replied in kind. As the train rumbled along, Schurz measured the somewhat flat appearance of Abe Lincoln. He wore a battered stovepipe hat. His long, brown, corded neck emerged from a white collar turned down over a black string tie. "His lank, ungainly body was clad in a rusty black dress coat with sleeves that should have been longer. . . . His black trousers, too, permitted a very full view of his large feet. On his left arm he carried a gray woolen shawl, which evidently served him as an overcoat in chilly weather. His left hand held a cotton umbrella of the bulging kind, and also a black satchel that bore the marks of long and hard usage." In short, he was the most uncouth man Schurz had yet seen. Seating himself by Schurz, he presently began talking in simple, familiar, homely speech—political talk of the day in a flat Kentucky accent.

But mark the real drama of the scene, and its Olympian elevation. Here was an exiled German Patriot, whose escape from the besieged fortress of Rastatt had been one of the striking episodes of the revolutionary year 1848, and whose subsequent liberation of his fellow-patriot Gottfried Kinkel from the prison of Spandau had made Europe ring. Now an adopted American, he was observing a contest unique in our history. Lincoln and Douglas, like two knights of old selected to champion opposed armies in single combat, were fighting one of the great moral battles of the century. The state of Illinois was closely divided and intensely excited by a discussion as mo-

mentous as any since the adoption of the Constitution. On the morrow, at Quincy, the rival champions were to grapple like Ivanhoe and Front de Boeuf, but in a struggle incomparably grander than any of feudal days. Carl Schurz identified himself heart and soul with the free-soil cause; and his eager greeting of Lincoln was a token of world interest in the slavery convulsion.

Two years later a delegation of Republican leaders was in Springfield to give Lincoln a formal notification of his nomination for the Presidency. When the Pennsylvanian William D. Kelley was presented, Lincoln asked him: "How tall are you, Mr. Kelley?" "Six feet three, sir," replied Kelley; "and how tall are *you*?" "Six feet four," rejoined Lincoln. "Then Pennsylvania bows to Illinois," said Kelley. "My dear sir, for years my heart has been aching for a President I could look up to." Out of the Illinois prairies rose a statesman to whom, more than any other, the country is still looking *up*.

So far as history goes, Illinois has enjoyed an exceptional amount of it, and much of it has been extraordinarily picturesque. If we revert far enough, according to Clarence W. Alvord, we find Illinois "inhabited by huge reptiles eighty feet long, by gigantic kangaroo-like saurians, by dragons flying on twenty-foot wings, and by innumerable crocodiles." Perhaps in the social swamps of Chicago, Peoria and East St. Louis a few crocodiles still survive!—but our written history provides color enough without going back to the saurians. That history begins with 1670, when the gallant La Salle, if we may believe his admirers, descended the Illinois River; or at least in 1673, when the wagonmaker's son, Louis Jolliet, followed the Mississippi southward, found a village of the Illini Indians, and on approaching the wigwam of the chief met him, stark naked, shielding his eyes with his hands. "Frenchman," said the chief, "how bright the sun shines when you come to visit us!" What state has a history that begins with a compliment more courtly—or a scene more emblematic of the impact of Europe

and the wilderness on one another than this prairie state?

For one cardinal fact respecting the history of Illinois must never be forgotten: the fact that the Illinois country always lay squarely in the stream of world events. Our first chapters of history were written by the French and British; our earliest capitals were Paris and London. When in the 1670's French agents of Louis XIV planted themselves at the Sault Ste. Marie, and British agents for Charles II appeared in the passes of the Alleghenies, their eyes were on the Illinois valley. When the French created Louisiana, it was partly as a shield against English traders on the Tennessee and Ohio, whose goods were reaching the old southwest and the Illinois prairies. In the time of Frontenac, behind the rivalries of missionaries, fur traders, and soldiers stood two hostile empires, contending for the mastery of the continent. The weapons were often squalid enough. To win Indian support, French brandy was pitted against English rum; and the latter had the advantage, for it was cheaper—"The English liquor made an Indian drunk for a muskrat skin, while the French liquor cost a beaver pelt." When in this century-long struggle the British seized the final victory in Wolfe's capture of Quebec, the force of the stroke was felt all the way to the Mississippi. The treaties of Utrecht and Paris were no less world-shaking events, indeed, to the settlers of Kaskaskia and Cahokia, and the wild tribes along the Sangamon, than they were to the people of Europe.

In the years of British rule over the West, speculators in Philadelphia and London struggled over tracts of Illinois lands. One of the most potent elements in bringing on the American Revolution was the fact that in mismanaging Illinois and the West as in mismanaging the seaboard colonies, the English genius for government for once failed. During the Revolution, Illinois and the West were still a part of European politics, as no one realized better than George Rogers Clark. If exact justice were done, the state of Illinois would some day raise a statue to Lord Shelburne, the liberal British prime min-

ister at the time of the peace of 1783, for he was one of our greatest benefactors. When many New Englanders were ready, nay, anxious, to let Great Britain keep the Illinois country in exchange for a secure title to fishing rights on the banks of Newfoundland, Lord Shelburne took a generous view. Seeing that the quarrels of fur traders and settlers could easily make a new Anglo-American war, and anxious to draw America toward Britain and away from France, he insisted on giving up the Illinois region; indeed, he offered it to Benjamin Franklin even before the other American negotiators, John Adams and John Jay, reached Paris. When Illinois entered the Union in 1818, of its 35,000 people the old French *habitants* still numbered one-tenth; and the richest cultural element in the new state was the British community in Edwards County under Morris Birkbeck and George Flower.

Nor did Illinois ever lose its place in world events. When the Illinois Central was built, British capital, represented in part by Richard Cobden, figured largely in its construction. Idealistic Germans came, bringing the classics, music, and a world outlook on such issues as slavery. Muscular Irishmen arrived in armies, first to build canals and railways, and later to build political machines. Scandinavians formed settlements like that at Rockford and Moline, full of Lutheranism, literature and laughter. Tell John P. Altgeld who was born in the duchy of Nassau, or Carl Sandburg whose parents came from Sweden, or James Keeley who migrated from London, that Illinois was not in the world stream, and they would smile derisively. In time, two world wars proved that it was. Reviewing the events of 1914, Arthur C. Cole wrote: "Illinois was, from the point of view of international relations, the most important state in the Mississippi valley—in the opinion of many the most important state in the Union." If there are still men who perversely refuse to see the light, they know little of the real history of the state.

Individualism has naturally marked Illinois history; the

individualism of unfettered energy, which leveled the forest, broke the soil, built the railways, and founded the cities. It was the individualism of which William Jennings Bryan, born and educated in Illinois, spoke when he said: "Whenever a thing is necessary, it is possible."

That individualism long had its violent and even lawless side—and still has. An Illinois commander, rallying his troops in the Mexican War, roared at them: "Come on, you Illinois bloodhounds!" And bloodhounds Illinoisans could be at times. The pioneer Illinoisans were singularly brutal and savage in their onslaught upon Black Hawk and his band of Sauk and Foxes. They were equally harsh in their excision of what they called the Mormon cancer from Nauvoo, to which they applied the knife of mob violence. Like the crushing of the Sauk and Foxes, the dispersion of the Mormons was effective; like that blow, its method was excusable only on the ground that the raw young state was as yet imperfectly civilized. The tradition of violence remains. But happily the variegated history of Illinois shows individualism constantly at work in more constructive ways—often with dramatic results, as in the rebuilding of Chicago after her fire. And better still, it shows individualism tempered by a sense of world responsibility.

That the quality of democracy in Illinois should be such as to possess a significance for the whole world was a fact of which the state's best leaders never lost sight. That truth was enunciated by an early governor, Thomas Ford, in his rare *History of Illinois*. In the Jacksonian era Ford agonized over the seamy aspects of a crude frontier democracy, and his book, mercilessly exposing the meanness of little men and little measures, called for purer, larger attitudes. Edward Coles, the friend of Thomas Jefferson and secretary to James Madison, who emancipated his slaves and fought for the antislavery cause in Illinois, believed, like Jefferson, that democracy was for world consumption. It was one of Lincoln's distinctions

as a democratic leader that he always thought of Illinois, and America, as object lessons for mankind. At Gettysburg he exulted, not in victory over the South, but in the vindication of democracy as a global force—in the fact that government of, by, and for the people should survive as an example to the whole earth. The governors of the First World War period, Edward F. Dunne and Frank O. Lowden, alike shared the Wilsonian idea that our democracy must be even more than an object lesson—that it must be a dynamic force, keeping the world safe for its spread. If the recent campaign of Adlai E. Stevenson had any paramount significance, it was that our democracy is a living world force. These are the true historic voices of Illinois.

When we turn from history to temperament and character, again we may claim for Illinois certain possessions—far indeed from flat—that are all her own. Of the various circumstances which have given the state a peculiar heritage, the chief is unquestionably its combination of remarkable diversities within a general unity. From the Wisconsin boundary to Cairo on the extreme south is a stretch of nearly five hundred miles; a distance greater than from New York to North Carolina. The elongated state was naturally first populated half by Southerners, half by Yankees. It grew up to combine, like New York, a great metropolis and a rich rural area. Its people before long were half native, half immigrant. The vagaries of glaciation gave it some of the richest soils of the globe, and some of the poorest, barrenest clays. It lies halfway between East and West, halfway between the Gulf of St. Lawrence and the Gulf of Mexico. Of necessity, Illinois was a state of compromises, concessions and mergers. Because of its diversities, it always had a certain difficulty in getting along with itself. Pudd'nhead Wilson said he would like to own half of a troublesome dog, because if he did he would kill his half. But one half of Illinois was never able to kill the other half; it had to enlarge itself—to take on traits of universality.

The soul of early Illinois gained a stimulating discipline from the fact that the people were half Yankee, half Southerners. Oliver Wendell Holmes distinguished between two kinds of New Englanders, the fine-grained white pine sort, and the coarse-grained pitch pine type. As material for state-building, both were invaluable; but they are best when mingled with other timber. Parts of northern Illinois were once rather more Puritan than the Puritans themselves; the Galesburg of Jonathan Blanchard, for example, and the Jacksonville of the "Yale Band." When that consecrated Yankee, Elijah Lovejoy, settled in Alton, trouble blazed up like a flame in each footstep. The hair-triggered New England stock required a certain tempering, and the Virginians and Kentuckians, slow, easygoing, tolerant to a point and then implacable, supplied it. The Dick Oglesby who came from Kentucky to Illinois was a good Union man who led a brigade against Fort Donelson. But Oglesby had Southern charm and tact; when he fought a political battle against that chill, critical Yankee Lyman Trumbull, he won the votes; thrice elected governor and once senator, he was long the most popular man in Illinois. Well it was for Chicago that Yankees like Gustavus Swift, Marshall Field and William B. Ogden could furnish surpassing business acumen and enterprise; but it was also well that Southerners like John M. Palmer and the two Carter Harrisons could supply elements of geniality, grace and dignity. In the Lincolns, the best moral qualities of the North and the best social qualities of the South were admirably blended. As children intermarried, central Illinois—as brought out in Clark E. Carr's *The Illini*—became an area where Yankee and Southerner fused to finer effect.

It was still more salutary for the soul of Illinois that the state became half rural, half urban. No doubt it is uncomfortable for the great progressive city of Chicago to have to live with backward rustic areas. No doubt it is uncomfortable for our virtuous countrysides to have to live with the flaunted

sins of Chicago. But discomfort is good for character.

The rural frontier was a land of natural idealism: the idealism of pioneers who endured hardship because they were sustained by a vision of the Promised Land yet to come. It was a practical, materialistic idealism, but intensely real. Its great defect was that it was not a social idealism. Although the frontiersman and his farmer sons, so well depicted in Edward Eggleston's *The Graysons*, saw a bright future civilization for which they were laying the foundation, it was a competitive, not a co-operative, civilization. The spirit was too much affected by the "git a plenty while you're a gittin'" temper which Eggleston presented as part of another novel. The Chicagoan for decades showed the same fiercely competitive temper.

But a crowded city, with its problems of crime, injustice and poverty, necessarily generates in time a social idealism. We are able, even, to lay a fairly precise finger on the date when this transformation became fully visible in Chicago. Those who read the tenth chapter of Jane Addams' *Twenty Years at Hull House* will find set forth the evidences that Chicago entered the Pullman strike of 1894 a city of almost unregenerate individualists, and that it emerged from the rioting, the misery, the class conflict, of that grim labor war with a changing outlook. Social consciousness had spread; humanitarian grace had taken deeper root; the strike had illuminated the minds of innumerable Chicagoans previously blind—and the illumination widened.

The culture of rural Illinois might well have produced a radical leader like John P. Altgeld, as it did produce the Grangers and William Jennings Bryan. It remained for urban Illinois, however, to bring forth such apostles of social democracy as Jane Addams and Florence Kelley, Julius Rosenwald and Clarence Darrow. One fault of Chicago was simply that it grew too fast. The rise of a city of four millions in a single century is a phenomenon almost unexampled in history.

Growing so rapidly, it was inevitably full of brutalities and greeds. "The larger toleration," wrote Charles E. Merriam, "emerges slowly in communities hastily built and without traditions upon which to rest." Such toleration began to emerge more rapidly when the four fine spirits just named, with Raymond Robbins, Brand Whitlock, Grace Abbott, Julia Lathrop, Frank J. Loesch, Jenkin Lloyd Jones, and Merriam himself entered the scene.

These leaders, and others like them, created the new social conscience of Illinois. Clarence Darrow had a passion for the underdog—the maltreated individual, the minority group. Whitlock, as a Chicago newspaperman and secretary to Governor Altgeld, cherished a passion for social justice. Florence Kelley, Julia Lathrop and Grace Abbott felt a passionate interest in better working conditions, the stopping of child labor, and the rescue of neglected children. Jane Addams was a passionate battler against vice and the slum. Rosenwald, a gifted mercantile organizer who never sought office, by virtue of his weight of character, complete unselfishness, and tremendous earnestness in the struggle for better education, better housing, and better race relations, gave first Chicago and then the whole state a social leaven. Loesch had a passionate hatred of crime, and Merriam of corruption. The essential conditions of urban life have made for a bigger, deeper democracy. When Professor T. V. Smith of the University of Chicago ran for the Illinois Senate, he found inspiration in the diversity of his community. His constituency, he has recalled, was "half white and half Negro; one-third Jewish, one-third Catholic, one-third Protestant; it was one half rich, one half poor; it was half sophisticated, with the proud University of Chicago in its center, and one half underprivileged educationally." These differences, as he says, "were the raw stuff of community richness."

Were we to name the two greatest exponents of democracy in Illinois, one would be the son of the soil, Abraham

Lincoln; the other the daughter who turned to city slums, Jane Addams. Both, like St. Augustine, had their city of God; both would build it in Illinois—Lincoln amid farms and villages, Jane Addams amid city streets. Lincoln, who liked breadth, would have read appreciatively Santayana's statement: "Great empty spaces bring a sort of freedom to both soul and body. You can pitch your tent where you will; or, if ever you decide to build anything, it can be in a style of your own devising." Jane Addams would have liked that too; but she would have said that social co-operation, in areas too cramped and crowded for the old individualistic freedom, is also essential. Lincoln's democracy was primarily political and spiritual. He well expressed it when he explained why, in the fall of 1860, he had not gone to the railway station to see the Prince of Wales pass through Springfield. "I remained here at the State House," he said, "where I met so many sovereigns during the day that really the Prince had come and gone before I knew about it." Jane Addams' democracy was primarily economic and social. She, too, regarded the common man as a sovereign. But she knew that the unemployed workman, the sweated seamstress, the slum-housed immigrant, found it harder to hold a sovereign status than the yeoman of Lincoln's day. Well it is for the soul of Illinois, we repeat, that it has had to fuse the individualistic democracy of the prairies with the social democracy of Hull House.

Because of the rich history of Illinois—its place in world history; because of its diversity in unity, the commingling of North and South, of East and West, of immigrant and native, of rich and poor; because city masses and prairie farmers have had to dwell together in our state, Illinois has been able to put into art and poetry a more fluid, spacious, and searching democracy than that known in some states of greater homogeneity and less eventful growth. Lorado Taft, a son of the university created by the state, held an intense faith in the possibilities of a truly democratic art. He taught thirty years

at the Art Institute in Chicago and ten years at the University of Chicago; he gave more than two thousand lectures on art to general audiences; he was an apostle of the artistic enrichment of Illinois and the Middle West. In such imaginative sculptural groups as that of "The Great Lakes" and such impressive statues as the one popularly called "Black Hawk" towering over Rock River, he beautified his state with art the masses could understand. Hamlin Garland, in his Chicago days, gave the mute farmers of the West an eloquent voice; and he was anxious not only to help these farmers gain a square deal, but to see their lives touched with cultural grace. It was in Chicago in the period of the World's Columbian Exposition, itself one of the shining American achievements in bringing art to the people, that Daniel Burnham and others first made city planning a potent force. Vachel Lindsay, who called his second book *Adventures While Preaching the Gospel of Beauty*, and who taught that his own Springfield might be made another Florence, held a fervent belief in the necessity of giving democracy a set of living cultural and aesthetic values. Carl Sandburg, a western Walt Whitman with something added of the mass appeal of Robert Burns, believed in a union of democracy, humanitarianism, and art—a union blessed by unflinching honesty.

Like other communities from the time of ancient Athens, Illinois has lifted itself to its highest levels in time of crisis, and particularly when the crisis produced a devoted leader. In placid eras, Illinoisans too often allow the real to corrode the ideal. They fail to square the abstract with the concrete. They talk about enlightenment, but they pay their school-teachers minimum salaries. They praise democracy, but think it is served merely by holding frequent elections, even if Hinky Dink and Bathhouse John are the men elected. They are eloquent about freedom, but let demagogues define it as telling King George and the United Nations to keep their snoots out of American affairs. They descant upon justice, but permit the

successors of Al Capone to go right on with kidnapping and thuggery. The people respect nomenclature but are careless about substance. In relaxed moods they listen to voices appealing to their worst instincts, for Illinois like other states has such voices; it has one in particular, a journalistic voice of isolationism, cynicism, and social reaction, which comes into hundreds of thousands of homes every morning. In periods of relapse, Illinois becomes really flat. But when the crisis and the leader appear, then at times the spirit of the people is exalted. The brave romanticism which inspired Vachel Lindsay to place the courthouse square in Springfield on a level with the Agora in Athens then finds its response.

We are in the throes of a many-sided crisis today; but we shall still be enduring it tomorrow. One of its facets is a challenge to the willingness of Illinoisans to play their due role in world affairs. Actually, we have been in the midst of world affairs for two and a half centuries; we cannot escape playing a role on that great stage; but we can play it courageously and generously, or skulkingly and meanly. We can interpret the part of our democracy in the modern world as Lincoln interpreted it, or as the Copperheads interpreted it; we can accept it as Frank O. Lowden accepted it, or clown it as Big Bill Thompson clowned it. Another facet of the many-sided crisis is the struggle between social advance and social reaction. We stagger under a terrible economic strain; debt, taxation, and living costs have reached unprecedented levels. Inevitably, voices are lifted demanding that we economize on education, that we stint our social services, and that we cut back the gains of labor and the farmer. They are the same voices that Florence Kelley and Grace Abbott heard in their day, and that excited their blazing moral indignation. Still another aspect of the crisis is a challenge to our civil liberties. The United States has lost its old security; we are living in what President Eisenhower calls "not an instant of danger but an age of danger." Placed in this situation of long-continuing

peril, we face a severe test of our ability to preserve the great principles of moderation, compromise and scrupulous justice. Demagogues in two neighboring states have taken advantage of the tension to bring our elementary civil rights under attack; and we must stand on our guard.

We should remember that Illinois has its own pages of history pertinent to this last challenge. It is a tradition of valorous defense of the principles of the first ten amendments to the Constitution—not excluding the fifth; a tradition of the vindication of free inquiry, of the right of individuals to protection against browbeating and slander, and of the title of every citizen, when accused, to a calm and impartial trial. This is essentially a conservative tradition. It objects to any effort to use mob passion in time of excitement to ruin the weak, to suppress free discussion, and to force conformity to the dictates of a mob leader.

This is the tradition of Elijah Lovejoy, who lifted his voice at Alton when demagogues and mobs sought to suppress it, and accepted death rather than an infringement of his civil liberties. It is the tradition of Edward Coles, who left a slave state to fight the proslavery sentiment of southern Illinois and maintain the provisions of the Northwest Ordinance. It is the tradition of Lyman Trumbull, who from his early anti-slavery days until his final espousal of Populist doctrines, never hesitated to insist on the rights of the dissenter and of the minority, and to demand a broadening of social freedom. It is the tradition of John M. Palmer, ever a brave fighter for advanced views and policies. It is the tradition of Robert G. Ingersoll, who dared to think for himself in social and religious matters, and used his wit and eloquence to denounce a sterile conformity and expose the specious pretenses of demagogic bulldozers. It is the tradition of Clarence Darrow, who in one unpopular case after another threw his talents and his blunt honesty on the side of those who seemed in danger of obtaining less than a full hearing or a fair trial. It is the tradi-

tion of John P. Altgeld, who in the aftermath of the Haymarket affair braved a storm of misrepresentation and obloquy to pardon three unjustly condemned men, and in one of the best state papers ever written in America asserted the elementary rules of justice involved.

In any critical period—and we are certainly passing through one of the greatest crises of the modern era—the best lamp on our pathway is that of history. And what a glorious history, when we look at its better aspects, Illinois has had! The record is one, in the main, of moderation, compromise, and common sense, as befits a state inheriting the old Anglo-Saxon principles, holding a central position in the American continent, and uniting so many varied elements. The citizens of the state can surely be relied upon to reject with equal vigor the Communist and the demagogue, the enemies of our government and the enemies of our civil rights. Our record, with few deviations, is that of a people aware of their place in the stream of world events and their duty to what Lincoln called “man’s vast future.” Our history is that of a broadening social consciousness; a growing sense that the individual freedom of the pioneer must be blended with the communal privileges and protections of the great conglomerate—white and black, alien-born and native, laborer and white-collar man—which populates our ever-growing cities.

To the rising generation the state commits this heritage. To one part of that emerging generation in particular does it look for responsible action and imaginative leadership: its university-trained youth. What a privilege they have in preserving their heritage! What a challenge they should feel in the duty of enlarging and brightening it—in writing new pages more lustrous than the old! As they rise to that challenge, they will give more pregnant meaning to the lines:

Not without thy wondrous story . . .
Can be writ the nation’s glory,
Illinois.

HORATIO ALGER, JR., AS A LINCOLN BIOGRAPHER

BY JORDAN D. FIORE

ANY mention of the name of Horatio Alger, Jr., usually brings to mind the author's many "rags to riches" books, which enjoyed enormous sales for many years. Now viewed as an outstanding apostle of the *laissez-faire* philosophy which dominated nineteenth century economic thought, Alger no longer enjoys great popularity, and his works, once so seriously and avidly read, are curiosities and collector's items.

The typical Alger plot was a simple one: a poor and honest country boy goes to the city where he meets with some slight adversities and inconveniences; finally with some actual effort coupled with amazing good luck, he achieves fame and fortune and wins the only daughter of a wealthy and kind stockbroker, who makes the hero a junior partner in the firm. This pattern, which was used over and over with only slight variation, is well known, and even those who have never read an Alger book know what is meant by the term "a Horatio Alger story." Less famous are Alger's fictionalized biographies.

The book *Abraham Lincoln, the Backwoods Boy; or, How*

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a Young Rail-Splitter Became President was first published in 1883,¹ as a volume in *The Boyhood and Manhood Series of Illustrious Americans*. Several firms reprinted the book shortly after its initial appearance, and after the turn of the century it was published with some slight revisions in the paper-bound Street and Smith editions so popular a generation ago.² This book was Alger's third venture in fictionalized biography, fol-



HORATIO ALGER, JR.

(From a sketch in Herbert R. Mayes, *Alger: A Biography Without a Hero*, New York, 1928.)

lowing his volumes on James A. Garfield (1881) and Daniel Webster (1882). Since the story of Lincoln's rise to fame parallels in many ways the pattern of the *Risen from the Ranks* and *Struggling Upward* books that Alger wrote, one might wonder why he did not recognize and use the Lincoln theme earlier. When his *Abraham Lincoln* appeared Alger had already produced more than twenty successful volumes.

Alger never met Lincoln, but in his first sermons after his ordination to the Unitarian ministry in 1864, he defended the President, whom he believed to be "of all men in the country the most devoted to the preservation of the Union," one who could not "fail to witness the successful termination of the cause." Lincoln was, Alger asserted later in the year, "nothing if not honest, and as broad in his views as he is honest."³

¹ New York: John R. Anderson & Henry S. Allen.

² For a bibliographical record see Jay Monaghan, *Lincoln Bibliography, 1839-1939* (*Illinois Historical Collections*, XXXI, XXXII; Springfield, 1943, 1945), I: 257-58.

³ Quoted in Herbert R. Mayes, *Alger: A Biography Without a Hero* (New York, 1928), 127.

Alger's own Civil War record consisted of brief service as a Union recruiting officer and three attempts at enlistment which were thwarted by illness and injuries.⁴

The Alger biography of Lincoln did not grow out of any passionate patriotism engendered by the war or political partisanship, nor did it develop from any desire to change his medium of expression from fiction to biography. In collaboration with Virginia Barry, Alger had planned to write a play based on Lincoln's life for a children's theater then being established in New York. He had been a prolific writer, and his publishers were constantly demanding new books. Since he had spent about six months in collecting information for the play, his regular output fell off. In desperation, his publishers suggested a story about Lincoln based upon the material that he had collected. Without consulting his collaborator, Alger agreed, and within two weeks the completed manuscript was in their hands.⁵

The Lincoln story, like most of Alger's books, shows signs of having been written hastily and carelessly. He admitted that he had used no primary sources, and he added in his preface, "I can hardly hope at this late day to have contributed many new facts, or found much new material," a statement belied by several generations of Lincoln scholars. Instead, Alger consulted some of the standard studies of Lincoln's life then available, from which he gained many facts. He quoted generously—sometimes without the use of quotation marks—and to this information he added several of the more popular Lincoln anecdotes at full value.

The first chapters of the book contain much conversation, used to advance the story. Beginning with his interpretation of the scene when Thomas Lincoln brought his second wife to his Indiana home, Alger drew a picture of Abraham's home life, schooling and first jobs, quoting from statements made

⁴ *Ibid.*, Chapter V.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 127-28.

by Lincoln's stepmother, stepbrother, cousins and neighbors to illustrate his points. Many of the popular accounts of events in Lincoln's early life were retold, and several anecdotes were repeated almost verbatim from earlier biographies. None of the controversial questions—Nancy Hanks' legitimacy, the Ann Rutledge romance, Lincoln's marital troubles—received the slightest mention.

Alger did not fail to draw the obvious morals to be found in Lincoln's early privations and handicaps. Lincoln's rescue from drowning at the age of seven was explained thus: "God looks after the lives of His chosen instruments, and saves them for His work."⁶ Of the hard work and poor living conditions that characterized Lincoln's early life Alger remarked to his young readers, "But Abe is not to be pitied for the hardships of his lot. That is the way strong men are made."⁷

Alger could not resist quoting in full Lincoln's famous letter lecturing his stepbrother, John D. Johnston. Lincoln wrote, "Your thousand pretences for not getting along better, are all non-sense. . . . *Go to work* is the only cure for your case."⁸ Alger commented smugly:

Nothing can be plainer, or more in accordance with common sense than this advice. Though it was written for the benefit of one person only, I feel that I am doing my young, and possibly some older, readers a service in transferring it to my pages, and commending them to heed it. . . .

In this country, fortunately, there are few places where an industrious man can not get a living, if he is willing to accept such work as falls in his way. This willingness often turns the scale, and converts threatening ruin into prosperity and success.⁹

Alger edited Lincoln's letters when he felt that emendations were needed. In presenting the well-known and controversial letter which Lincoln wrote to his stepbrother on

⁶ Alger, *Abraham Lincoln, the Backwoods Boy*, 32.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 33.

⁸ For a full text of the letter dated Nov. 4, 1851, see the Abraham Lincoln Association edition of *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln* (New Brunswick, N. J., 1953), II: 112-13.

⁹ Alger, *Lincoln*, 144-45.

January 12, 1851, about the impending death of Thomas Lincoln, Alger included Lincoln's statement that he could not visit his father because Mary Lincoln was "sick-abed." But the author omitted Lincoln's explanation, "It is a case of baby-sickness, and I suppose is not dangerous."¹⁰ The reference was to the birth of Lincoln's third son, William Wallace Lincoln, on December 21, 1850. The Alger books never mentioned the subject of childbirth lest the sensitivities of young readers be offended.

Alger drew upon several of the biographies which were standard in their day. These books included Francis B. Carpenter's *Six Months at the White House, with Abraham Lincoln* (1866), Henry J. Raymond's *History of the Administration of President Lincoln* (1864), and David V. G. Bartlett's *The Life and Public Services of Hon. Abraham Lincoln* (1860). Most frequently he consulted Josiah G. Holland's *The Life of Abraham Lincoln* (1866) and Ward H. Lamon's *The Life of Abraham Lincoln* (1872). Alger accepted the statements and evaluations of these writers almost without question. He also quoted selections from several addresses made by Lincoln, including a portion of his humorous account of his experiences in the Black Hawk War, a short address made during his first and unsuccessful campaign for election to the Illinois legislature in 1832, his Mexican War speech made on the floor of the House of Representatives in 1848, his touching farewell to his friends at Springfield in 1861, selections from the First Inaugural Address and the Gettysburg Address.¹¹

Among the anecdotes retold or quoted from other works were the experiences of Lincoln as a store clerk: his error in making change, his miscalculation in weighing tea—both of which he rectified after some trouble—and his whipping a bully who used profane language in the presence of ladies.

¹⁰ *Collected Works*, II: 96-97.

¹¹ Alger, *Lincoln*, 72-73, 80-81, 124-25, 186-87, 202-7, 274-75.

On the first anecdote Alger commented, "If I were a capitalist, I would be willing to lend money to such a young man without security."¹² About the second story Alger noted,

I think my young readers will begin to see that the name so often given, in later times, to President Lincoln, of "Honest Old Abe," was well deserved. A man who begins by strict honesty in his youth is not likely to change as he grows older, and mercantile honesty is some guarantee of political honesty.¹³

The popular story of Lincoln's working for three days for Josiah Crawford to pay for a borrowed book damaged by a storm is presented in detail. Lamson had criticized Crawford for exacting such a severe penalty,¹⁴ but Alger thought that the penalty was justified. He wrote that the payment "appears to me only equitable, and I am glad to think that Abe was willing to act honorably in the matter."¹⁵ This attitude was in keeping with the Alger tradition, for Alger boys always took the honorable road, whatever the cost. Lincoln the humanitarian was shown in the story of the rescue of a hog from the muddy slough,¹⁶ and Alger showed Lincoln's ability as a lawyer by quoting Raymond's account of the Armstrong murder trial.¹⁷

Several stories of Lincoln's presidential years reflected his goodness, generosity and sense of justice. Any favorable anecdote was worthy of acceptance by Alger, and was not complete until he had hammered home the obvious moral and had made his studied comment.

According to Alger, every action in which Lincoln was successful was due to his shrewdness, his good living, and Providence. Even Lincoln's adversities were turned into triumphs by Alger and became a part of God's moving "in a mysterious way, His wonders to perform." Regarding Lin-

¹² *Ibid.*, 65.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 66. The first edition of this book was dedicated to "Alexander Henriques, of New York, President of the Old Guard, and Vice-Chairman of the Stock Exchange... with sincere friendship and regard."

¹⁴ Lamson, *The Life of Abraham Lincoln* (Boston, 1872), 38, 50-51.

¹⁵ Alger, *Lincoln*, 42.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 97-98.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 88-94.

coln's defeat for the Senate in 1858 Alger conjectures that had he been elected, Lincoln might have alienated many Republicans by some erroneous action, and thus his nomination and election in 1860 would have been impossible. Thus, wrote Alger, "The nation would never have discovered the leader who, under Providence, led it out of the wilderness, and conducted it to peace and freedom." Protesting that he did not wish to "moralize over-much," Alger pointed out that "in the lives of all there are present disappointments that lead to ultimate success and prosperity." For example, Washington and Garfield both wanted to go to sea as boys, but having been dissuaded, they triumphed in other fields. As a young man Cromwell decided to emigrate to America, but he finally "remained in his own country to control its destiny, and take a position at the head of affairs." He warned his young readers, "Remember this when your cherished plans are defeated. There is a higher wisdom than ours that shapes and directs our lives."¹⁸

Alger's *Abraham Lincoln, the Backwoods Boy* is not a rare book. First editions are listed in booksellers' catalogues frequently and seldom bring more than several dollars. Few Lincoln students profess to have read it, and not one considers the book a good biography. But the work was not entirely without merit in its time. It had value as a portrait for young people in the 1880's, when Horatio Alger, Jr., was perhaps more real to American boys than was Abraham Lincoln. In this book, one of the earlier studies designed for juvenile reading, the picture of Lincoln was a fair and adequate one, and contributed to the popular impression of him then held by the youth of America.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 162-63.

PATENT MEDICINES: THE EARLY POST-FRONTIER PHASE

BY JAMES HARVEY YOUNG

IN all times and places man has faced the constant hazard of ill health. For almost as long there has been the added jeopardy to his physical well-being arising from his willingness to go to often fantastic extremes in the practice of self-medication. In our own day, millions of dollars are spent each year—in 1947 the manufactured, not the retail value, was 317½ million¹—for proprietary preparations advertised for direct sale to the general public. The Food and Drug Administration and the Federal Trade Commission are busy policing the traffic under laws dating only from 1906. In earlier ages, less fortunately endowed with scientific knowledge and legal protection, man ran even graver risks from self-dosage with nostrums.

In 1800, Sir William Osler has asserted, the world knew little more about the actual causes of disease than did the ancient Greeks.² The early nineteenth century was a period of confusion both in medical theory and medical ethics. Even in the most advanced centers of western Europe and the eastern

¹ Bureau of the Census, *Census of Manufacturers: 1947*, II: *Statistics by Industry* (Washington, 1949), 404.

² Osler, *The Evolution of Modern Medicine* (New Haven, 1921), 208.

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United States, speculation overshadowed empiricism in the effort to explain disease.³ Speculative explanations tended to be monistic—all disease had but one cause—and one technique of therapy. Benjamin Rush, the most distinguished physician in America, despondent and ill amidst the terrible suffering of his fellow-Philadelphians during the yellow fever epidemic of 1793, concluded that fevers were caused by excess excitability in the blood vessels and could be cured by heroic bleeding and purging.⁴ His influence fastened his theory and therapy upon a large segment of American medical practice for half a century: old Tippecanoe, delivering his long inaugural address on a frigid March day in 1841, contracted pneumonia and was doubtless hastened to his grave by excessive bleeding.

Physicians could not agree on the one cause of disease. Reputable doctors waged violent pamphlet warfare contesting the merits of their respective monisms. Some kept their ingredients secret, but advertised their remedies blatantly. With regular medicine in such a state, quackery was bound to flourish. Self-styled doctors, moved not by the humanitarianism that prompted Rush but by the desire for profit, concocted their own monistic explanations and promotional schemes. Amidst the babel of appeals, whom was the average citizen to believe?

In the West quackery was “unblushingly presuming.”⁵ Medical training was poorer than in the East. Regulation of the profession was almost non-existent. Irregular doctors outnumbered regular doctors, and irregulars became regulars and regulars irregulars—at least in techniques of therapy—in kaleidoscopic confusion.⁶ The scarcity of doctors of any breed and the level of their fees helped keep alive the primary re-

³ Richard H. Shryock, *The Development of Modern Medicine* (New York, 1947), 17-56 *passim*.

⁴ James T. Flexner, *Doctors on Horseback* (New York, 1944), 101.

⁵ Joseph W. England, ed., *The First Century of the Philadelphia College of Pharmacy, 1821-1921* (Philadelphia, 1922), 125.

⁶ Madge E. Pickard and R. Carlyle Buley, *The Midwest Pioneer: His Ills, Cures, & Doctors* (New York, 1946), 113-20, 168-69, 198.

liance of a frontier people on folk cures and home remedies. Both quack doctors and patent medicine promoters profited from the spirit of frontier individualism with its suspicion and scorn for members of the educated professions. Quackery had always libeled "science and virtue," pointed out Daniel Drake, the most keen-minded doctor in the Midwest.⁷ The unscrupulous pseudo-doctor posed as "one of the *people*," as "pre-eminently the guardian of the *people*," and accused trained doctors of being "not of the *people*, but arrayed against the *people*, and bent on killing them off." In the age of the common man and the atmosphere of frontier democracy, this appeal was markedly effective. The people were "charmed," Drake said, and "crawl[ed] into the serpent's mouth."

Patent medicines were seldom patented medicines. The word "patent" became associated with nostrums in the seventeenth century when European sovereigns and the British Parliament favored certain widely-heralded remedies with monopoly privileges.⁸ Under the American patent law of 1793 medical preparations and devices were sanctioned. Until a new law in 1836, no proof of utility or novelty was required. The Secretary of State, charged with granting patents, had no authority to reject applications.⁹ Nonetheless between 1796 and 1836 only about seventy-five patents were issued for medical preparations.¹⁰

Claims for patents for medicines were usually made by simple-minded folk not used to the ways of the world.¹¹ The

⁷ Drake, *The People's Doctors* (Cincinnati, 1829), 59-60.

⁸ Charles H. LaWall, *Four Thousand Years of Pharmacy* (Philadelphia, 1927), 333-34, 428-29; Edward Kremers and George Urdang, *History of Pharmacy* (Philadelphia, 1940), 109-10.

⁹ Gustavus A. Weber, *The Patent Office, Its History, Activities and Organization* (Baltimore, 1924), 5.

¹⁰ Lyman F. Kebler, "United States Patents Granted for Medicines During the Pioneer Years of the Patent Office," *Journal of the American Pharmaceutical Association*, XXIV (June, 1935), 487-88.

¹¹ John S. Billings, "American Invention and Discoveries in Medicine, Surgery, and Practical Sanitation," *Celebration of the Beginning of the Second Century of the American Patent System at Washington, D. C.* (Washington, 1892), 414.

shrewd could gain governmental protection for their nostrums without revealing, as a patent required, the nature of the ingredients. They patented not the medicine but the design of the bottle, and copyrighted the label and the medicinal literature packed with it. The term patent medicine continued in common use to apply to all remedies which were of "secret composition" and "advertised direct to the public for self-medication."¹² Of nostrums advertised in the newspapers of early nineteenth century America, by far the most were secret preparations to which the term patent could be applied only through ironic courtesy.

The development of newspapers and patent medicines went hand in hand. Without the advertising columns, nostrum makers reached only a small portion of the public. Without the revenue from patent medicine advertising, newspapers would have been deprived of an important source of income. Such advertising had its origin in the *Boston News-Letter* in 1704.¹³ Benjamin Franklin set ads for Seneca Rattlesnake Root and Dr. Bateman's Pectoral Drops.¹⁴ By 1810 most of the eastern papers listed under a hand-lettered heading, "Approved Family Medicines," an "Assortment for the Cure of Most of the Diseases to Which the Human Body is Liable."¹⁵ As the frontier receded and political necessity prompted the formation of newspapers in the growing West, the patent medicine advertiser marched westward, several steps behind the editor.

Thus the voice of the nostrum-maker came to be heard in Illinois. The first newspaper, the *Illinois Herald*, was launched in 1814 at Kaskaskia as a medium for territorial and national printing and as a vehicle for expressing the growing desire for

¹² C. Rufus Rorem and Robert P. Fischelis, *The Costs of Medicines* (No. 14, Publications of the Committee on the Costs of Medical Care: Chicago, 1932), 16.

¹³ Frank Presbrey, *The History and Development of Advertising* (New York, 1929), 290.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 137, and Cedric Larson, "Patent-Medicine Advertising and the Early American Press," *Journalism Quarterly*, XIV (Dec., 1937), 335.

¹⁵ Presbrey, *History and Development of Advertising*, 180.

statehood.¹⁶ The second newspaper, the *Illinois Emigrant*, was established at Shawneetown in 1818, the year that statehood was achieved. Not quite a score of papers were in operation in 1830. Public printing furnished the lifeblood of these early weeklies.¹⁷ There were few advertisements—name-ads of local merchants and taverns, notices of runaway slaves and horses, prospectuses of town promotional schemes. In 1821, patent medicines were first specified by name, in an advertisement for a Kaskaskia drugstore.¹⁸ The next year a New York cancer infirmary earned the dubious distinction of being the first quack advertiser.¹⁹

In 1824, the first actual patent medicine advertisement appeared, proclaiming the virtues of J. Shinn's Panacea.²⁰ During the rest of the decade nostrums advertised in their own right were rare, although drugstores and even physicians frequently named those in stock.²¹ During the 1830's patent medicine advertisements appeared with increasing frequency; greater imagination in the writing of advertising copy was apparent; the attention-arresting column-head cut came into use.²² The eve of 1840 witnessed a precipitous rise in paid space devoted to nostrums, forecasting for Illinois a new and more flourishing panacea period. Week by week the ailing of Springfield were reminded of patent remedies which the ailing of Cincinnati had known two decades before.²³ The transit of civilization was still in operation.

The bulk of the patent medicines sold in Illinois were those of the large-scale manufacturers in eastern cities, especially Philadelphia, and the newer metropolises of the Ohio

¹⁶ Franklin William Scott, *Newspapers and Periodicals of Illinois 1814-1879* (Illinois Historical Collections, VI, Springfield, 1910), xxv-xxix, 417.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, xxxvii, xxxix.

¹⁸ *Illinois Intelligencer* (Kaskaskia), July 24, 1821.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, Dec. 7, 1822.

²⁰ *Illinois Gazette* (Shawneetown), April 17, 1824.

²¹ *Ibid.*, March 19, April 23, 1825; *Kaskaskia Republican*, May 25, 1824.

²² *Alton Spectator*, Nov. 5, 1834. The cut appeared atop an ad for T. White's Toothache Drops.

²³ *Illinois State Register* (Springfield), Dec. 21, 1839; *Cincinnati Inquirer*, Jan. 4, 1820.

valley, like Cincinnati. Philadelphia firms like Dyott and Swaim carried the largest and most frequent advertisements for their wide assortment of nostrums, and their heavy crates of bottles and boxes reached the Illinois towns by boat via New Orleans.²⁴ The uncertainties of transportation, which frequently forced newspapers to halt publication for weeks when newsprint was delayed in transit,²⁵ must have caused western druggists and general storekeepers occasional concern. The arrival of a new assortment of drugs and medicines was the signal to place another "just received" advertisement in the columns of neighboring newspapers, which likely would still be running at the end of several months.²⁶

Illinois invalids were by no means deprived of bottled treatment if the druggist should exhaust his supply. Some of the large-scale producers preferred to sell direct to customers through traveling agents, who came equipped with a copper-plate certificate signed by the "doctor" who manufactured the medicine.²⁷ One such firm sought to aid its agents by warning potential buyers: "Shun a Drug Store for . . . you are certain to get a Worthless Counterfeit Article."²⁸ Many itinerant peddlers also were in the field, some buying pills in quantity, packaging them with their own labels, and dispensing them as they traveled on horseback or by team and wagon through the countryside.²⁹

Some promoters made and sold their own medicine or wholesaled it through agents. It was a simple task for "any idle mechanic" to launch a nostrum, as an Ohio editor pointed out.³⁰ By 1834, for example, Springfield, Illinois, had at least one self-styled Indian and German root doctor, T. J. Luster,

²⁴ *Edwardsville Spectator*, Sept. 13, 1823.

²⁵ Scott, *Newspapers and Periodicals*, xxxi-xxxiii.

²⁶ *Edwardsville Spectator*, Sept. 13, 1823. A St. Louis firm so advertised.

²⁷ *Illinois State Register*, Aug. 24, 1839. Dr. B. Brandeth.

²⁸ Pickard and Buley, *Midwest Pioneer*, 284.

²⁹ Richardson Wright, *Hawkers & Walkers in Early America* (Philadelphia, 1927), 57-58.

³⁰ *Portsmouth (Ohio) Journal*, 1824, cited in Pickard and Buley, *Midwest Pioneer*, 286.

who was advertising and selling his own botanic concoctions. Luster heralded his arrival by announcing that, in the last six years he had prepared medicines to the satisfaction of ten thousand Ohio families. He added that he had just returned from Mexico with a good supply of medicines.³¹

The itinerant nostrum vender of the colonial period promoted his wares by a skillful harangue often aided by sleight-of-hand, juggling, feats of strength, or some other novel appeal to the citizenry.³² As the vender moved west he lost none of his flair for showmanship. The father of John D. Rockefeller sold patent medicines in the western country, employing his expert marksmanship, according to legend, to attract the attention of potential purchasers.³³ As time went on the traveling vender became a troupe and entertainment became more elaborate. James Whitcomb Riley traveled for a season with a Dr. C. M. Townsend, sole proprietor of the Wizard Oil Company of Lima, Ohio.³⁴ During the winter Townsend prepared and packaged his Magic Oil, his King of Coughs, and his Cholera Balm, and in the spring set out with a fine team and a covered wagon with side seats for members of his troupe. Nearing a town they would arouse the population with blasts from a horn and then distribute broadsides. At the edge of the town they formed a band and paraded through the main streets. Dr. Townsend gave two "lectures" a day, one in the afternoon, the main spiel in the torch-lit evening. Riley beat the bass drum, played the violin, gave poetic readings, and used his sketching talent to draw cartoons on a blackboard while his employer was extolling the merits of his nostrums.

Earlier Riley had used his artistic ability to paint signs on roadside boards and barns to spur the sales of an Indiana medicine-maker's Oriental Liniment.³⁵ Outdoor advertising was

³¹ *Sangamo Journal* (Springfield), April 25 [26], 1834.

³² Wright, *Hawkers & Walkers*, 121.

³³ Allan Nevins, *John D. Rockefeller* (New York, 1940), I: 37.

³⁴ Marcus Dickey, *The Youth of James Whitcomb Riley* (Indianapolis, 1919), 193-212.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 105-14, 137.

important in the nostrum field and was destined for a long history of marring the American landscape.

However, in the post-frontier period newspaper advertising was the dominant force in patent medicine promotion. Here the psychological ingenuity that is the essence of modern advertising received its pioneering test.³⁶ The claim of successful usage both during long years and over vast areas was advanced. The testimonial was glowingly cited. Price-cutting and the money-back guarantee were popular. Competitors were decried. The finger of shame and the finger of warning were both solemnly pointed. Does the loss of your hair cause you to "shun society" in order to avoid "jests and sneers"? "Have you a cough?"³⁷ There were appeals to exotic lands—Egypt, China—to Holy Writ, to the American flag. The magic word "science" was flaunted. In an age in which professional ethics forbade physicians from specializing in one branch of medicine, some patent medicine promoters ballyhooed their products as specifics for rheumatism, consumption, cholera or toothache. Many more advertised their remedies as panaceas. Moffat's Life Pills could cure thirty-four diseases, running the gamut from cholera to gout and from anxiety to erysipelas.³⁸ Even penicillin is not the cure-all which Potter's Vegetable Catholicon claimed to be.³⁹

A number of the patent medicine men imitated—and exaggerated—the prevailing monism of regular medicine, announcing in their advertising a theory of disease and asserting that only their particular remedy conformed to the theory and could produce a cure. "Consumption is a disease," one advertisement read, "always occasioned by a disordered state of the Vis Vitae (or Life-Principle) of the human body."⁴⁰ Only

³⁶ The generalizations are based on a study of patent medicine advertising in the Illinois press through 1840.

³⁷ Aldridge's Balm of Columbia and the Rev. Dr. Bartholomew's Expectorant Syrup, *Illinois State Register*, Oct. 12, 1839.

³⁸ *Illinois Sentinel* (Vandalia), Dec. 5, 1840.

³⁹ *Illinois Gazette*, May 29, 1830.

⁴⁰ *Illinois Sentinel*, Nov. 22, 1839.

by taking Dr. Goelicke's Matchless Sanative, the "conqueror of physicians," could this basic derangement be straightened out.

Mental depression, according to another advertisement, had a physical basis.⁴¹ Low spirits were defined as "a certain state of mind accompanied by indigestion, wherein the greatest evils are apprehended upon the slightest grounds and the worst consequences imagined." Dr. Wm. Evans' Aperient Pills, by correcting the indigestion, would dispel all manifestations of mental instability.

The revival in this period of the botanical school, in reaction against the excessive use of mercurial medicines, resulted from one of the few patented systems, based on the peculiar monistic theory of Samuel Thomson.⁴² Thomsonianism was undoubtedly the most pervasive and important unorthodox monism in the West. Its emphasis on purely vegetable remedies was to have some salutary impact on the pharmacopeia and on regular medicine, and a host of imitators in the patent medicine field.

It is easier to discount the hyperbole of the advertisements than to assert with certainty the composition of the liquids, powders and pills which were sold as panaceas. Certain generalizations, based on patented remedies and on contemporary efforts at exposure, can safely be made. Some contained opium as the principal ingredient.⁴³ In others there was a high proportion of alcohol, even in a number advertised as possessing none.⁴⁴ Mercury compounds did service for quackery as for regular medicine; at least one famous remedy advertised as a

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, Dec. 5, 1840.

⁴² Kremers and Urdang, *History of Pharmacy*, 160-62; Pickard and Buley, *Midwest Pioneer*, 169-98; Philip D. Jordan, "The Secret Six: An Inquiry into the Basic Materia Medica of the Thomsonian System of Botanic Medicine," *Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Quarterly*, LII (Oct.-Dec. 1943), 347-55.

⁴³ *Formulae for the Preparation of Eight Patent Medicines, adopted by the Philadelphia College of Pharmacy May 4th 1824* (Philadelphia, 1824), 7-9.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 10; Caleb Ticknor, *A Popular Treatise on Medical Philosophy; or, An Exposition of Quackery and Imposture in Medicine* (2nd edition: New York, 1839), 127-28.

cure for mercurial poisoning was found itself to contain mercury.⁴⁵

One of the oldest schemes of the nostrum-maker was to borrow a recognized remedy from the materia medica, provide it with a striking name, and promote it as a marvelous new discovery. This technique was employed with many herbal remedies, and doubtless most of the patent febrifuges contained cinchona bark made somewhat palatable.⁴⁶ One of the patented bitter tonics contained nothing "new and novel," being a mixture of recognized natural ingredients like poplar bark, columbo, cloves, bayberry, capsicum and sugar.⁴⁷ Capsicum or red pepper was one of the Thomsonian bulwarks.⁴⁸ Other ingredients with potentially dangerous physiological effects were used, like the herb lobelia inflata and the fungus ergot.

It was a hazardous venture to rely for health upon patent medicines. The opiates and mercurials aside, those nostrums which contained other drugs useful when administered by physicians in suitable doses were risky when taken by laymen according to directions on a label. Perhaps only the hypochondriac luckily choosing a nostrum composed of relatively inert ingredients might be quite safe. Even he was paying twenty prices for his relief.

The patent medicine menace did not go unchallenged, even in the early West. Dr. Drake was a forthright opponent of quackery. Even the Illinois press, if but rarely and mostly in borrowed words, joined in the attack. In 1820 the *Illinois Intelligencer*, which had not yet derived revenue from nostrum advertising, reprinted from the *National Intelligencer* a satirical denunciation of quackery.⁴⁹ The next year the *Edwardsville Spectator* bemoaned the fact that quackery seemed to

⁴⁵ Philadelphia *Journal of Health* (Nov. 25, 1829), I: 93, and (March 24, 1830), I: 222-23.

⁴⁶ Pickard and Buley, *Midwest Pioneer*, 107.

⁴⁷ Kebler, "United States Patents Granted for Medicines," 488.

⁴⁸ Jordan, "Secret Six," 352.

⁴⁹ Sept. 16, 1820.

flourish especially in the region of new settlements.⁵⁰ In 1830 the *Illinois Intelligencer* quoted a Philadelphia medical journal to present four reasons why patent medicines were antithetical both to science and to philanthropy.⁵¹ There was seldom any similarity between the alleged and the real composition. The price was exorbitant. The veil of secrecy prevented free inquiry into the real properties and merits of the concoctions. Advertising methods were dishonest: only cures were published; all cases of failure or of injury inflicted were suppressed.

Despite such occasional trenchant criticism, the nostrum evil not only continued but was destined to expand. "In all things related to disease," to cite Sir William Osler, "credulity remains a permanent fact uninfluenced by civilization or education."⁵² This is perhaps too pessimistically extreme a judgment. Nonetheless, if the early Midwest had its Parker's Vegetable Renovating Panacea, we—despite our increase in popular education, our expansion of medical knowledge, and our legislating of pure food and drug laws—have our Hadacol.⁵³

⁵⁰ July 17, 1821.

⁵¹ Sept. 11, 1830, citing *Journal of Health*.

⁵² Cited in Wyndham B. Blanton, *Medicine in Virginia in the Eighteenth Century* (Richmond, 1931), 211.

⁵³ James Harvey Young, "The Hadacol Phenomenon," *Emory University Quarterly*, VII (June, 1951), 72-86.

SAMUEL FALLOWS: EXPANSIONIST

BY WILLIAM H. PEASE

Patriotism, though it has meant many things and been put to various, even contradictory uses, may nevertheless be defined as love of country, pride in it, and readiness to make sacrifices for what is considered its best interest.¹

WHILE the numerous studies relating to American expansion at the close of the nineteenth century explain for us most of the expansionist arguments offered by government, by well-known individuals, and by private organizations like the Grand Army of the Republic, we know too little about the specific expansionist views of lesser-known individuals. But there was one man who expressed the thoughts of the public as only a few men could—he was Bishop Samuel Fallows.

The Right Rev. Samuel Fallows, D.D., the son of a poor farmer, was born in Pendleton, Lancashire, England, December 13, 1835, and came to Wisconsin in 1848. Graduating in 1859 from the University of Wisconsin, Fallows served as a Methodist minister until the Civil War. He saw active service in the Union Army both as a chaplain and as a field commander.

Following the war he was superintendent of public instruction for the state of Wisconsin, a regent of the University

¹ Merle Curti, *The Roots of American Loyalty* (New York, 1946), vii-viii.

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of Wisconsin, and president of Illinois Wesleyan University at Bloomington, 1874-1875. He then joined the newly organized Reformed Episcopal Church, was elected bishop in 1876, and appointed presiding bishop for the entire group in 1878.²

Except for a short period in New York Fallows made his home in Chicago, where he discharged the duties of his church rectorship and of his bishop's office, and also engaged in



BISHOP SAMUEL FALLOWS

many civic affairs. Active in the temperance movement of the period, he introduced into Chicago the non-intoxicating beverage known as Bishop's Beer.³ He also took part in the anti-crime crusades of the period, and from 1893 to 1913 he was president of the board of the state reformatory for boys at Pontiac, Illinois.⁴ He helped formulate the educational program of the World's Columbian Exposition, taught mental therapy at Bennett College of Eclectic Medicine and Surgery in Chicago, was president of the Northern Illinois Chautauqua Union, and wrote or collaborated on textbooks,

² In his position as Bishop he was called upon to represent the clergy on numerous occasions. He served on the Executive Committee of the Chicago Federation of Religious Workers (1901), he was appointed chairman of the Committee on Ethical and Religious Organizations of the International Olympian Games of 1904 (1902), and served as a member of the Executive Committee of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America (1916). Personal correspondence, manuscript sermons, notes, diaries, and miscellaneous materials of Samuel Fallows in the Wisconsin State Historical Society Library, Madison. Cited hereafter as Fallows Papers.

³ *Dictionary of American Biography*, VI: 261-62. Charles Peck to Fallows, July 11, 1899, letterhead reads: "Home Salon, HEADQUARTERS for the Celebrated Bishop's Beer, made from Best Malt and Hops, absolutely non-intoxicating." Fallows Papers.

⁴ Fallows served on two Chicago anti-crime committees, the Law and Order League (1904) and the Citizens' Committee of Public Safety, which he helped organize (1915). Scrapbook of newspaper clippings in the Wisconsin State Historical Society Library. Cited hereafter as News File.

inspirational books, and patriotic books.⁵ While the Emmanuel movement was at its height in Boston, Fallows organized a similar religious therapy movement in Chicago.

As a clergyman and social gospeler he also intervened in various labor-management disputes. Although he was considered socialistic by some who believed he was too sympathetic toward labor, he was, in reality, a typical product of the American Gilded Age—a stalwart supporter of capitalism and an ardent admirer of the responsible and benevolent ownership which Andrew Carnegie delineated in his gospel of wealth.⁶ Such diversity brought him into contact with virtually every group of American society: the rich and the poor, the honest and the dishonest, the literate and the illiterate, the conservative and the radical. These were the people whom he represented and of whom he was one.

Social awareness was but one side of Fallows' nature. As a student at the University of Wisconsin he had been interested in military training, and after his service with the men in blue he continued this interest in various military organizations. He was chaplain in the Illinois Commandary of the Military Order of the Loyal Legion of the United States (1887) and in the Veterans Union League of Chicago (1894); and chaplain-in-chief of the Grand Army of the Republic (1907). The following year he became National Patriotic Instructor of the G.A.R., and in 1914 was commander of its Illinois Department.⁷ During World War I, Fallows continued his military activities by accepting membership on the general committee of the National Security League

⁵ Fallows' educational activities also brought him such recognition as membership in the Philosophical Society of Great Britain (c. 1898), an honorary D.D. from Marietta (Ohio) College (1903), and membership in Phi Beta Kappa (1913). Fallows Papers.

⁶ Fallows' activities took him to the Homestead Works in 1892 to address the strikers, and he was a member of the Miners' Relief Committee of 100 for the great anthracite strike of 1902. Alice K. Fallows, *Everybody's Bishop, Being the Life and Times of The Right Reverend Samuel Fallows, D.D.* (New York, 1927), 318-20. See also Fallows Papers.

⁷ *Ibid.*

(1918), and on the advisory board of the Universal Military Training League (1919).⁸

The core of all this activity was Fallows' ardent patriotism. Part of this zeal was utilized in community improvement, and part was channeled into his various veteran activities. But his patriotism demanded even more. Fired both by the preacher that he was and by the nation's most chauvinistically patriotic organization—his beloved G.A.R.—he became an intensely articulate exponent of Americanism as well. When the expansionist period was gathering momentum, he wrote:

The love of country is one of the most absorbing passions of the human soul. It is a love all other human loves excelling. The maxim "It is sweet to die for one's country," finds a confirmation in the heroism and patriotism of every land. No more resplendent deeds have been performed in the history of the world than in the country we call our own. No nation has greater claims to the devotion of its citizens than ours. Born amid the throes of the Revolution, and born again amid the pangs of our great Civil War, it stands among the foremost nations of the earth for intelligence, activity, liberty, religion, and progress.⁹

Fallows wrote a number of books whose purpose it was to instill in the people that love "all other human loves excelling." Less concerned with the letter than they were with the spirit, his books must be labelled propaganda rather than scholarship. In *The American Manual* were sketches of the American presidents, so written that their virtues were prominently displayed, their weaknesses omitted. George Washington, for example, was limned as a man of enterprise and bravery; John Adams, as a man of "great worth and exalted integrity"; Thomas Jefferson, as a man of "principles . . . intensely democratic"; and James Madison, as a man of spotless private character.¹⁰ Samuel Adams, whom Fallows sketched ten years later at the height of the Spanish-American crisis,

⁸ *Ibid.* Fallows also testified on two occasions at congressional hearings in favor of universal military training. News File.

⁹ Samuel Fallows, *Liberty and Union; a Cyclopaedia of Patriotism* . . . (Chicago and Madison, 1883, preface, 9).

¹⁰ Samuel Fallows, *The American Manual and Patriot's Handbook* (Chicago, 1888), 26-32.

was characterized as a man of utmost honor. "Neither threats nor coaxings could make him swerve in the least. It were easier to turn the sun from his course than this Fabrician hero from the path of honor."¹¹

The academic world, ideally immune from the incursions of zealots, was also included in Fallows' patriotic crusade. All textbooks, he wrote, should have in them Timothy Dwight's stirring eloquence:

Columbia to glory arise,
The Queen of the world and the child of the skies,
Thy genius commands me. . .¹²

By indoctrinating children one could assure the patriotism of future adults. In 1890 he said:

Public Schools can best teach patriotism by having the Flag of our country wave over the school house, by teaching the children in the English language what the founders and saviors of the Nation have done for it—by—[filling] their memories with gems of patriotic literature—by observing with appropriate exercises the great national days, and the birthdays of Eminent Americans,—and by making them familiar with the grandeur and vastness of our national domain, and by impressing upon their minds their duties and responsibilities as coming American Citizens, which require them to be intelligent, obedient, virtuous, God fearing boys and girls.¹³

This was ardent patriotism, even aggressive, chauvinistic flag-waving of "the flag that is at the mast head of the flagship of humanity."¹⁴

By 1898 Fallows was thus as well trained in the school of patriotism as in the school of social service. The coming of war, however, thrust him into new circumstances. The America which he knew had never been committed beyond the American continent; and, except for the purchase of Alaska, there had been no major territorial acquisition since the years of the Mexican War. The America of 1898 was

¹¹ Samuel Fallows, *Samuel Adams, a Character Sketch . . . with Anecdotes, Characteristics and Chronology* (Chicago, 1898), 59.

¹² News File, *Peoria Herald-Transcript*, June 15, 1908.

¹³ Fallows Papers, manuscript dated Nov. 5, 1890.

¹⁴ News File, *Peoria Herald-Transcript*, June 15, 1908.

an isolated, second rate power, hence Fallows' concerns had been intra-national: social service had dealt largely with urban problems, and military and patriotic zeal found their sources in the purely domestic Civil War. How would he now react to foreign war, colonialism and world power?

Fallows was a thorough expansionist, admiring the Christian Brotherhood of President McKinley, idolizing the Roosevelt-Lodge "Large Policy," and eventually championing the aggressiveness of economic imperialism. America-right-or-wrong was so deeply engraved on his heart that he readily transferred his intra-national patriotism to the inter-national arena. A sincere humanitarian and social gospeler, he easily justified foreign war in these same terms. The Rough Riders had scarcely made their legendary charge when Fallows lashed out against the anti-expansionists, unqualifiedly defending America and its ideals:

Lust for conquest was believed to be our real animating purpose. The world will yet see that we are thoroughly honest in our statements. Wherever the American flag now waves or wherever it shall wave hereafter it must never be taken down until another flag [which] shall represent the same glorious ideas shall take its place.¹⁵

Just what were the "glorious ideas" which America represented? Perhaps Fallows was reliving his service in the Union Army against the rebels—a service which the patriot considered glorious and knightly—when he said a month later:

When the United States went to war with Spain the most chivalrous ideas that ever inspired the breasts of men moved the nation to take up the sword. America gave to the world the new chivalry. When the Spaniards laid down their arms the most knightly benignity and magnanimity known in history were witnessed.¹⁶

Fallows went on to explain the causes which led to the war, causes which were highly suggestive of the attitude of the radical Republicans toward the South some thirty years

¹⁵ News File, *Buffalo* (New York) *Times*, July 25, 1898.

¹⁶ News File, *Chicago Tribune*, Aug. 29, 1898.

earlier, and showed how receptive Fallows had been to the lurid journalism of the Yellow Press. Intervention in Cuba, he pointed out, was the direct consequence of Spanish decadence. The Spanish government exhibited colossal incompetence in Cuba; its colonial rule was chaotic, often cruel; so bad, said Fallows, that even God was against the Spaniards. Fallows saw the war as a divine command for the United States to rescue the suffering Cubans.¹⁷ He compared the Spaniards to the backward Turks. Mere victory in Cuba, he asserted, was not a guarantee that Christian Brotherhood would be safe. Victory would be a step in the right direction, "but what a crowning glory," he added, "to the civilization of the nineteenth century if both Spain and the Sultan were rendered powerless for further evil. . . ."¹⁸

It is not strange that Fallows in his *Life of McKinley* included a speech the President made shortly after the close of the war extolling Christian Brotherhood. McKinley had concluded:

And above all and beyond all the valor of the American army and the bravery of the American navy and the majesty of the American name stand forth in unsullied glory, while the humanity of our purposes and the magnanimity of our conduct have given to war, always horrible, touches of noble generosity, Christian sympathy and charity, and examples of human grandeur which can never be lost to mankind. . . . Passion and bitterness formed no part of our impelling motive, and it is gratifying to feel that humanity triumphed at every step of the war's progress.¹⁹

These were precisely Fallows' sentiments. Americans, he wrote, have assumed a great responsibility for the welfare of their newly acquired empire, and they must be "broad-shouldered, broad-minded, broad-hearted and broad-purposed to bear the white man's burdens, heed the red man's plea, meet

¹⁷ News File, *Chicago Times-Herald*, Aug. 15, 1898; *Chicago Tribune*, Dec. 14, 1898.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ Address by William McKinley at the Trans-Mississippi Exposition, Omaha, Nebr., Oct. 12, 1898, in Samuel Fallows, ed., *Life of William McKinley, Our Martyred President, with Short Biographies of Lincoln and Garfield, and a Comprehensive Life of President Roosevelt, Containing the Masterpieces of McKinley's Eloquence, and a History of Anarchy, Its Purposes and Results* (Chicago, 1901), 276.

the yellow man's need, safeguard the brown man's rights and redress the black man's wrongs."²⁰

After the novelty of the war had worn off, the implications of a colonial empire became more evident. The business community, seemingly uninterested before the war, became expansionist in the wake of Admiral Dewey. The United States was becoming increasingly a part of the phenomenon which Carlton Hayes delineated in *A Generation of Materialism*. Nor is it without significance that the *Oregon* had been compelled to travel around Cape Horn, or that Theodore Roosevelt was waving the big stick at "those contemptible little creatures in Bogotá" and demanding a bigger navy. How would Fallows react to this ramification of the Spanish-American War?

Just as he had converted his understanding of the social gospel into the white man's burden, so Fallows converted his Civil War patriotism into the justification of economic imperialism and military prowess. In 1900 he wrote:

American patriotism is not a weeping and wailing and gnashing of teeth because American soldiers and sailors have just been adding through divine providence a new and imperishable lustre to our family name.

The flag which has waved in glory over an expanding country from 1776 to 1899, under which the reunited soldiery of the blue and the gray, with their valorous, patriotic sons, have so splendidly striven together, will not be shot down at a range of 10,000 miles with the sulphurous paper wads of a Boston pamphleteer. . . . Not money, not lust of conquest, not desire of territorial expansion began the Spanish-American War, but humanity.²¹

The mixture of the white man's burden and naked expansionism is highlighted the next year in his McKinley memorial volume. Fallows, idolizing McKinley as he did, drew him after his own image. The acquisition of Hawaii is explained thus:

President McKinley was not one of those who believed that the United

²⁰ News File, commencement address, Lawrence College, Appleton, Wis., June 22, 1899, *Milwaukee Sentinel*, June 22, 1899.

²¹ Samuel Fallows et al., *Splendid Deeds of American Heroes on Sea and Land* . . . (Naperville, Ill., 1900), 361-62.

States should never extend her power outside of the territory between the Atlantic and Pacific oceans, and the twentieth and fiftieth parallels of latitude. He believed in the people, in government by the people, and hence when Hawaii knocked at the doors of the White House and said, "Let us come in and be members of your family of states," he lent a ready ear.²²

Summarizing McKinley's first term Fallows wrote in the same general, expansive tone. McKinley, he said, had made a great success of foreign policy. "More than one hundred thousand square miles of territory had been added to the country, and the administration was engaged in establishing government over these new sections, and providing for the welfare of their peoples."²³

By 1903, with Theodore Roosevelt firmly in control of power and McKinley prosperity still high, Fallows had made the complete change. This was an economic imperialist speaking. He admitted the desirability of reciprocal trade agreements, "but we must not be content merely with our own domain, we must aim to largely control the markets of the world, or at least to have the full share of the world's commerce which justly belongs to us."²⁴

The growth of the colonial empire and the increase of foreign economic interests made obvious the validity of Roosevelt's bid for a larger navy, and it made quite clear to Fallows the need for a stronger army. There is something of a dichotomy between armed might and the humanitarianism of Christian Brotherhood, so Fallows had to reconcile the two, or his expansionist position would be untenable. Bringing to the problem the assembled might of his ardent and military patriotism, his Christian training, and his own peculiar and facile logic, he first sought a reconciliation in 1900 by making a distinction between militarism and militancy. Militarism he characterized as cruel, bestial and un-American; militancy was honorable, noble and desirable. The first was related to bar-

²² Fallows, *Life of McKinley*, 183.

²³ *Ibid.*, 206.

²⁴ Fallows Papers, lecture, 1903.

barism and savagery; the second, however, was akin to the good fight, the worthy struggle. He crystallized the comparison by reference to his own profession—the Church Militant.²⁵ This argument was devious at best, but Fallows, undaunted, had another one. He drew upon the laws of natural science and upon maudlin sentiments of nobility, and wrote:

God has put the martial spirit in the breasts of men. It is not a mere survival of a savage ancestry. It is to be a constant force. The youthful spirit must be ever ready to do and dare. Woe to that people when the fires of a generous, self-sacrificing enthusiasm among them shall have died out.

Until the better day shall come, as come it surely will, when nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more, we must have a well disciplined army and a formidable navy. We must be ready to maintain our providential position among the nations of the earth. By the very possession of the war-like means of self-preservation, and by the unquestioned ability to use them, we shall be able to secure ultimately the peace of mankind.²⁶

By 1909 the devious argumentation and the maudlin sentimentality had both gone. Fallows drew a line, clear, sharp, incisive, which made his reconciliation complete:

The Prince of Peace declared he came not to send peace, but a sword. The paradox lies in the fact that he came to establish righteousness and justice among men, to overcome selfishness by unselfishness, and hate by love. This of necessity means conflict, which is symbolized by the sword.

War is ever to be waged against the wrong. As men are constituted it means that physical force must always be employed that right may prevail. It therefore means that the struggle between nations must take place as it does between individuals.²⁷

In support of this hard-hitting patriotism Fallows advocated a greatly enlarged army. Having called for an active force of 100,000 men at the close of the Spanish-American War, by Memorial Day, 1908, he had increased the number to 500,000,²⁸ explaining on the very next day the indisputable reasons for such an expansion.

²⁵ Fallows Papers, manuscript, c. 1900.

²⁶ Fallows, *Splendid Deeds*, introduction, iii.

²⁷ Fallows Papers, sermon, May 9, 1909, *Chicago Record Herald*, May 10, 1909.

²⁸ News File, sermon, Sept. 25, 1898, *Chicago Tribune*, Sept. 26, 1898. Memorial Day address, Davenport, Iowa, *Davenport Times*, May 30, 1908.

Although the most peaceful of nations, we ought to be the foremost in being prepared for war. Our destiny as a world power is manifest. Our island possessions, the protection of our commerce, the need to keep open all the markets of the globe for our commerce demand that we shall have the most powerful navy that sails the seas and a great potential army of great men ready to meet any emergency.²⁹

Much more portentous in their military, economic and social possibilities than Cuba were the Philippine Islands, also part of the price of the war. Their proximity to China and Japan, their economic potential, and their need for social service made them a major factor in American calculations during the years which followed the fighting. In 1913, therefore, Fallows went to the islands as part of a commission to assess what progress had been made. The report he typed upon his return is of significance, for in it was summarized and epitomized the entire growth of his expansionist ideas: the white man's burden, economic imperialism, humanitarianism, American aggressiveness, Christian Brotherhood and innate American superiority. Much had been accomplished, he wrote, in fifteen years of American domination. There had been a "splendid advancement . . . made through the energy and genius and skill of their American occupants."³⁰ The American people, he continued, had undertaken a great responsibility to preserve and develop the islands:

We hold as a great strong Republic the Philippines in trust for the Filipinos. We are to help a present child nation to become one of the strong powers in the Orient. There are wonderful potentialities in the Filipino character as there are limitless possibilities in his material possessions. All the elements of good in that character we must sedulously cultivate. We must aim to draw out his self-respect and self confidence. We must lift him up to a high standard of education, morals and religion. We must not think of him as essentially and permanently an inferior being, but inherently capable of standing shoulder to shoulder ultimately with ourselves. We must assist in giving the widest possible diffusion of the English language. . . . We must help create a powerful intelligent middle class who know their rights and knowing dare [to] maintain [them] against an unscrupulous oligarchy. . . .

²⁹ News File, sermon, May 31, 1908, *Chicago Record Herald*, June 1, 1908.

³⁰ Fallows Papers, typescript report, 1913-1914.

The untold wealth in forest, field and mines and seas we must bring forth by American capital, genius and skill to enrich most of all the people to whom God has given them as their inheritance. The heartless, selfish exploiter, as far as possible, must be kept away.³¹

There was also the note of economic imperialism. The question of Philippine independence Fallows answered in the negative. Having talked with bankers and businessmen as well as with soldiers, teachers, and missionaries, he learned that freedom for the Philippines would be bad for trade and business. "My informants," he concluded, "claimed that it would be a supreme act both of folly and cruelty on the part of the American government . . . to abandon their beneficent sway over these people not yet out of their political childhood."³²

Fallows had followed his government from foreign war, foreign territorial expansion, and economic imperialism to world power. He had applied the tenets of his intra-national social consciousness and of his patriotism to an inter-national situation. The social gospel had led to the white man's burden, while the veteran's patriotism and the economic principles of the Gilded Age had led to territorial acquisitiveness and economic imperialism. His government's policy had been observed and approved. By the time of his death in September, 1922, Samuel Fallows, expansionist, had validated his faith.

³¹ *Ibid.*

³² *Ibid.*

LINCOLN, BENJAMIN JONAS AND THE BLACK CODE

BY CHARLES M. SEGAL

WILLIAM H. Herndon's biography of Lincoln (1889) recounts an interesting episode concerning a free Negro named John Shelby, whose freedom was jeopardized by the "black code" in New Orleans. However, the interesting and important part played by a twenty-three-year-old New Orleans lawyer, Benjamin F. Jonas, was ignored in Herndon's account.¹

After the campaign of 1854 in Illinois, in which he took a very active part, Abraham Lincoln became known as a lawyer interested in cases involving the rights of slaves and free Negroes. Noah Brooks wrote that when Edward D. Baker, one of Lincoln's friends, was asked to take a case bearing upon the rights of a fugitive slave, he refused on the grounds that as a public man and politician, he did not dare to take it. On hearing of this, a friend of the Negro said: "Go to Lincoln. He's not afraid of an unpopular case. When I go for a lawyer to defend an arrested fugitive slave, other lawyers will refuse me, but if Lincoln is at home he will always take my case."²

¹ William H. Herndon and Jesse W. Weik, *Herndon's Life of Lincoln*. Introduction and Notes by Paul M. Angle (Cleveland, 1949), 308-9. Hereafter cited as *Herndon's Lincoln*.

² Noah Brooks, *Abraham Lincoln* (New York and London, 1905), 126-27.

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It was this reputation that led Polly Mack, a troubled Negro woman, to Lincoln's office. She was in great distress. Her son had been arrested and fined in New Orleans. He faced the prospect of being sold into slavery.

From Herndon's biography of Lincoln, and the writings of Charles H. Dall, Noah Brooks and Albert J. Beveridge—all of whom obviously used information supplied by Herndon—we can reconstruct the circumstances surrounding the Shelby case.³

Polly Mack lived in Springfield, Illinois. She had been born into slavery in Kentucky. Eventually, she and her children became the property of a man named Henkle.⁴ When Henkle moved into Illinois, the law of the state compelled him to give his slaves their freedom.

In the fall of 1856, Polly's son, John Shelby, who had been born "free," went to St. Louis and hired out as a hand on a lower Mississippi steamboat bound for New Orleans.⁵ When the boat docked at New Orleans, young Shelby went ashore without his "free papers," and was arrested by the local constabulary. According to New Orleans law, any Negro found on the streets after dark without a written pass from his owner, was subject to immediate imprisonment. So it was with Polly Mack's boy.

"Though born free," Herndon wrote, "he was subjected to the tyranny of the 'black code,' all the more stringent because of the recent utterances of the Abolitionists in the North, and was kept in prison until his boat had left." Shelby was brought to trial and fined. Unable to pay, he languished in the New Orleans jail, alone and forgotten.

³ Herndon's *Lincoln*, 308-9; Charles H. Dall, "Pioneering," *Atlantic Monthly* (April, 1867) quoted in Rufus Rockwell Wilson, *Intimate Memories of Lincoln* (Elmira, N. Y., 1945), 43; Brooks, *Lincoln*, 125-26; Albert J. Beveridge, *Abraham Lincoln 1809-1858* (Boston and New York, 1928), II: 297.

⁴ This man's name is spelled "Hinkle" in Brooks (125), and "Hinckels" in Dall (Wilson, 43). Justus Henkle came to Sangamon County in 1818. In 1828 a Negro woman named "Polly" was living with her family in Springfield on Washington Street near Third. She may be the Negro woman "Polly Mack."

⁵ Brooks, *Lincoln*, 125, states Shelby hired himself out as a "cabin waiter."

"After a certain length of time established by law," Herndon said, "he would inevitably have been sold in slavery to defray prison expenses had not Lincoln and I interposed our aid. . . . We went first to see the Governor of Illinois, who, after patient and thorough examination of the law, responded that he had no right or power to interfere. Recourse was then had to the Governor of Louisiana, who responded in like manner. We were sorely perplexed."

When a second interview with the governor of Illinois proved fruitless, Lincoln is said to have arisen, hat in hand, and exclaimed: "By God, Governor, I'll make the ground in this country too hot for the foot of a slave, whether you have the legal power to secure the release of this boy or not."⁶

"Having exhausted all legal means to recover the negro we dropped our relation as lawyers to the case," Herndon relates. "Lincoln drew up a subscription-list, which I circulated, collecting funds enough to purchase the young man's liberty. The money we sent to Col. A. P. Field, a friend of ours in New Orleans, who applied it as directed, and it restored the prisoner to his overjoyed mother."⁷

However, in reporting the case, both in his own biography of Lincoln as well as to others, Herndon not only varied the minor details of the incident but completely ignored the fact that it was not Colonel Field who assisted in securing Shelby's release.

The New Orleans lawyer who did assist was Benjamin F.

⁶ *Herndon's Lincoln*, 308. Reports of Lincoln's exact words on this occasion vary. Dall (Wilson, 43): "By God! said Lincoln, starting up, 'before I've done, I'll make the road so hot that he shall find authority!'"'; Beveridge (II: 297): "By God, Governor, I'll make the ground of this country too hot for the foot of a slave, whether you have the legal power to secure the release of this boy or not." Brooks (126): "By the Almighty! I'll have that negro back soon, or I'll have a twenty years' excitement in Illinois until the Governor does have a legal and constitutional right to do something in the premises!"

The first appeal in the Shelby case was probably made to Gov. Joel A. Matteson of Illinois (1853-1857), and the second to Gov. William H. Bissell (1857-1860). The governor of Louisiana in 1856-1857 was Robert C. Wickliffe.

⁷ Alexander P. Field (1800-1877) was secretary of state of Illinois (1829-1840); in 1841 he became secretary of the Wisconsin Territory. He later removed to New Orleans where he practiced law.

Jonas, son of Abraham Jonas of Quincy, Illinois, Lincoln's friend and political supporter.⁸

Why Herndon chose to omit Benjamin Jonas from his report of the Shelby case is open to conjecture. There is a possibility that he permitted prejudice to color truth in this instance, as he did on other occasions. Herndon was anti-slavery. Jonas was not; during the Civil War he fought for the Confederacy. That Herndon was in possession of the facts concerning Jonas' part in freeing Shelby is clear from the following letter, published here for the first time.⁹ Responding to Herndon's appeal for information concerning Lincoln, Annie E. Jonas, sister of Benjamin F. Jonas and daughter of Abraham Jonas, wrote:

QUINCY ILLS
Oct 28th. 1866.

HON WM. H. HERNDON

Dear Sir.

I am ashamed to confess the error I made in copying the letter I forwarded to you marked "Confidential"; of course the letter was dated, as the contents (for availability before the election) would indicate—1860.¹⁰ My apology for apparent carelessness, must also extenuate the seeming negligence of not having replied to your enquiry before—my time is not at my own command, and consequently I copied; as I now write in a room full of talkers. I shall be only too happy to do any-thing in my limited power to aid you, in your labor of love; but if your request was made in the principal papers, of the largest circulation, in the cities; unheard of letters might be brought to light. In our locality we have only seen your request once in the *Tribune*. I delayed sending you copies of the letters I had in order to obtain a couple from New Orleans; having failed to obtain them, I will at least tell

⁸ For further details of the friendship between Lincoln and Abraham Jonas see Isaac Markens, "Lincoln and the Jews," *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*, No. 17 (1909), 123-28; Emanuel Hertz, ed., *Abraham Lincoln, The Tribute of the Synagogue* (New York, 1927), x-xi; Bertram W. Korn, *American Jewry and the Civil War* (Philadelphia, 1951), 189-94.

The Jewish Encyclopedia, VII (New York, 1904), 231, records the following biographical data on Benjamin F. Jonas: "American lawyer, soldier, and statesman; born in Williamstown, Grant county, Kentucky, July 19, 1834. In early youth he removed to Adams county, Illinois, where he received his education. In 1853 he went to New Orleans, where he took up the study of law, receiving his diploma from the law department of the University of Louisiana in 1855. Throughout the Civil war Jonas fought on the Confederate side, as a private of artillery, and subsequently as acting adjutant of artillery, in Hood's corps of the Army of Tennessee. . . ."

⁹ Original letter is in the Weik Papers, Illinois State Historical Library.

¹⁰ This letter has not been located.

you the story of them; which you can make use of, if you like. Either in the winter of 1856, or the spring of /57—some colored man from Springfield went to St Louis, and hired himself—(for what special service I forget—) as a hand on a lower Mississippi boat—arriving at New Orleans, without-free papers: he having been born free—he was subjected to the tyranny of the black code—all the more stringently enforced, because of the late excitement attendant upon the Freemont campaign, and thrown into prison until the boat left; then, as no one was especially interested in him, he was forgotten. After a certain length of time, established by law, he would inevitably have been sold into slavery to defray prison expenses had not Mr. Lincoln heard of it, and written to a brother of mine, a young lawyer—to get him out, and charge the expense incurred to him. My brother did so, but he now writes me that the only person who accepted remuneration for his services, was the *now* “radical” Col. A. P. Field. My brother was a rebel and upon my asking for Mr Lincoln’s letters—for you—answered that with other papers they were *stolen* from his office by some U. S. Quarter-Master, whom he hoped to discover through his forwarding the letters to you. I too hope the letters will find their way to you, though as they were in the office of the Lt Gov—(Hyams) of the state,¹¹ I should say both Office, and papers were taken “*possession of.*” Pardon me, if I have been wearisome, but if the letters come to you, you will know their story, I am afraid they were destroyed. You are not kind in denying us letter forwarders the privilege of paying our own postage,

Respectfully
ANNIE E. JONAS

The above letter emphasizes two things. First, it makes no reference to Herndon’s part in the Shelby case. Secondly, by studying Miss Jonas’ letter carefully and comparing it with Herndon’s report of the case, we can see that Herndon made verbatim use of certain portions of the letter.

Lincoln was aware of the extent Jonas’ assistance was responsible for the successful outcome of the case. On June 4, 1857, Benjamin Jonas wrote to Lincoln about John Shelby:

NEW ORLEANS LA
June 4th 1857

HONL. A. LINCOLN
Springfield Illinois
Dear Sir

Your letter of the 27th ult, enclosing draft for \$69.30 on the Metropolitan Bank of New York—in full for advances, and fee—in the matter of

¹¹ Henry M. Hyams.

the colored boy John Shelby, has just been received—and permit me Dr Sir, to return my most sincere acknowledgments—for your kind services in this matter.¹²

I should never have ventured to trouble you, had not the boy mentioned your name, as that of one, who would take an interest in his behalf—and had I not recognized in you an old friend of my father.

I owe an apology to the lady for misinterpreting the cause of her silence—but I was of course disappointed, at receiving an answer to niether of my letters—and besides I thought my correspondent was a gentleman, as the boy spoke of Mr Grimsley.¹³

I am glad that he has returned safe—should he come south again—be sure and let him have his papers with him—and he must also be careful not to be away from the boat at night—without a pass, which it is the duty of the Captain to procure for him.

What right Col. A. P. Field had to charge a fee of \$25, I am at a loss to imagine as he had nothing to do with the matter—and so far as I know, rendered no service whatever.

Again sir permit me to thank you—and to assure you that any service I can render you in this part of the world will give me pleasure.

With much respect

Truly yours

B. F. JONAS¹⁴

Lincoln's bank account for May 28, 1857, the day after he wrote to Jonas, shows a withdrawal of \$40.30. Since the draft was for \$69.30, it would appear that only \$29 was collected by Herndon or Lincoln to free Shelby. It is possible that Lincoln wrote to Field, who although failing to free the boy, may have sent Lincoln a bill for \$25 for his services.

Although we have no evidence to indicate how Jonas originally became involved in the case, we know that he communicated with Lincoln about Shelby. Apparently, Jonas advanced the needed funds to free Shelby and was reimbursed by Lincoln, who also paid him a fee for services. The letters published here reveal that Shelby might have been sold into slavery had not Jonas and Lincoln united in his rescue.

¹² Lincoln's letter of May 27, 1857, probably mailed on May 28, the day he withdrew \$40.30 from his bank account, has not been located.

¹³ Although the Grimsley mentioned by Shelby has not been identified, it may have been Elizabeth Jane Todd Grimsley, favorite cousin of Mrs. Lincoln. Her husband was Harrison J. Grimsley.

¹⁴ Original letter in the Robert Todd Lincoln Collection of the Papers of Abraham Lincoln, Library of Congress.

THEY SAW THE EARLY MIDWEST

A Bibliography of Travel Narratives, 1722-1850

BY ROBERT R. HUBACH

STORIES of pioneers, frontiersmen and travelers in the American wilderness are usually interesting because of the subject matter alone. The numerous books written by such well-known explorers as Meriwether Lewis and William Clark, and by visitors like Mrs. Frances Trollope and Charles Dickens have been widely publicized, and significant studies such as Professor Ralph L. Rusk's *The Literature of the Middle Western Frontier*¹ have been made of them.

There remains, however, a vast collection of travel narratives, journals and diaries, written by pioneer settlers, explorers and visitors, printed in major historical magazines, dealing with the early history of the eastern Midwest. Most of these accounts were never intended for publication and thus possess an intimacy and afford a direct view into the lives of the authors which more pretentious works, written for the public eye, lack. True, most of them are not of a high literary quality, but they portray an authentic and realistic picture of the times.

¹ Published in two volumes (New York, 1926), the second contains a bibliography of early Midwestern books of observation and travel narratives printed in book form. See also William H. Hildreth, *Travel Literature of the Ohio River Valley* (1794-1832). *Abstracts of Doctoral Dissertations*, No. 47 (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1945).

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The bibliography below has been compiled from the following outstanding periodicals covering early Midwestern history: *The American Historical Review*, *The Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, *The Indiana Magazine of History*, *The Michigan History Magazine*, *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, *The Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly*, and *The Wisconsin Magazine of History*.

All the accounts originated prior to 1850, one as early as 1722. Varied nationalities—French, British, German, Hungarian, and native American—are represented. The French, because they were the first to explore the Midwest, were the first to record their impressions. Opinions regarding the frontier were varied. More often than not, however, the travelers merely described their day-to-day activities. Few had literary pretensions; few were dismayed by the crudities of the wilderness, as writers sojourning from an environment of culture often were. Among the most exciting of the accounts are those of Indian captivity—exciting and at times as blood-curdling as those of the Far West.

The full story of the American frontier is incomplete without these manuscript records, preserved and made available in the publications listed above. Travel narratives printed in book form shortly after their authors' visits obviously had a far greater influence on the many people both in America and in Europe who read them at the time. They were undoubtedly used as source material for such popular modern novels as *The Big Sky* by A. B. Guthrie, Jr., and captured the imagination of some of the nineteenth-century English poets. But certainly if some of the accounts listed below had been available they would have attracted attention also, and present-day writers of historical fiction might well glean plot and setting material from the best of them.

The items have been arranged chronologically and an asterisk placed in front of those which the compiler considers particularly well written or containing significant data. Those

covering more than one year have been listed after the last date. Abbreviations in parentheses after the page numbers indicate the nationality of the foreign authors.

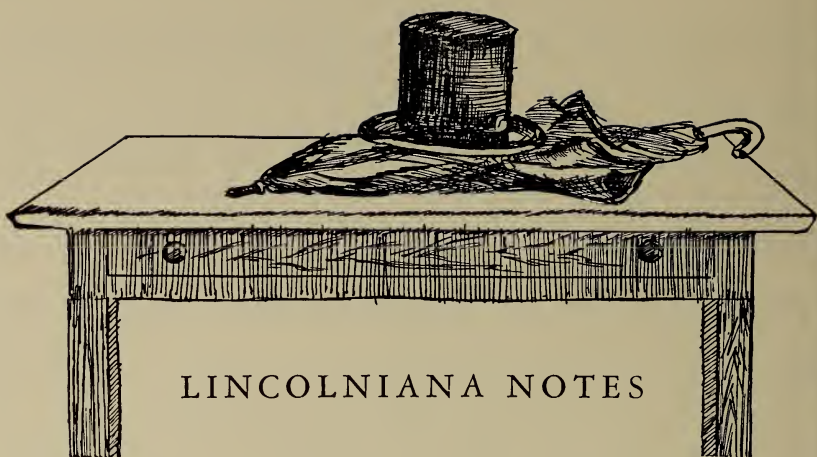
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ATTORNEY FOR WILLIAM BAKER GILBERT

When William Baker Gilbert, father of the writer, was nineteen, and a senior at Shurtleff College, Alton, he was summoned to appear "at once" before the president and faculty. On January 2, 1857, as he entered the stipulated room, the grim expressions of the five-man faculty¹ were evidence of an unfavorable decision of his case. An excellent student, William seldom had been in trouble with the stern-faced professors. President Daniel Read announced that the faculty had decided to suspend him for one year. Whereupon William packed his belongings, removing them to the home of his maternal grandfather David J. Baker, a prominent attorney in Alton, and former United States Senator. Hastening home to "Oakwood" in St. Mary, Missouri, William related the particulars to his father Miles A. Gilbert, a country gentleman and farmer with four thousand acres on the bank of the Mississippi opposite Kaskaskia, Illinois.

¹ The faculty consisted of President Daniel Read who taught philosophy, ethics, "evidences" and political economy; Orlando S. Castle, logic, rhetoric and *belles lettres*; Oscar Howes, classical languages and literature; Washington Leverett, mathematics; and his brother, Warren Leverett, in charge of the academy. The sixth member, Dr. Ebenezer Marsh, professor of natural science, was in Europe.

William told of stopping in St. Louis for a visit with friends on his return to college after the Christmas holidays. Several of these young men were from aristocratic French families who made quite an elaborate celebration of New Year's Eve and New Year's Day. A special form of serenading on New Year's Eve centered around an old French provincial song, "La Gaie Année" ("The Gay Year"). At noon on New Year's Day, William and Sam Boone set out to make a round of calls on several prominent French families. At the home of Monsieur Chouteau they were welcomed and served dainties by the young ladies. Then they moved on to a room presided over by a Negro butler with silver ladle in hand, standing beside a large punch bowl. William drained his glass and smiled his thanks to the butler. His glance then fell upon President Read of Shurtleff. William acknowledged his stiff nod and curt greeting. The son assured his father this was all the drinking he had done since he and several other students had been put on probation the previous year for the "use of intoxicating liquor" at a "farewell" celebration.²

Miles Gilbert, an Episcopalian, had selected Shurtleff College because his son had attended preparatory school in Alton, and the Baptist college, with less than one hundred students, had a good faculty. Father and son were soon in Alton. Accompanied by Grandfather Baker they called upon President Read. What took place was noted by the President in a letter to the college attorney, John M. Palmer of Carlinville, an alumnus: "Never were men more dreadfully abused by the tongue than we were by Mr Baker & Mr Gilbert. They demanded as a right the unconditional restoration of young Gilbert to full standing. We kept our temper and this of course vexed them the more."³

The faculty refused to readmit William. His Grandfather

² Daniel Read to John M. Palmer, Upper Alton, March 5, 1857. Palmer Papers in Illinois State Historical Library. I was well acquainted with my father's habits from 1876 to 1923 and never knew him to take a drink.

³ Read to Palmer, Shurtleff College, March 11, 1857. Palmer Papers.

Baker had a close friend in the president of St. Paul's College (Episcopalian) at Palmyra, Missouri. By special arrangement William continued his studies in his grandfather's law office in Alton, took the examinations in Palmyra and received his bachelor's degree from St. Paul's in June, 1857, and an honorary master's degree in 1861.

Meanwhile, William's father and grandfather went to Springfield.⁴ There in the office of Lincoln & Herndon, two blocks east of the Alton depot, they outlined their plan for two suits against Shurtleff College. By this time they not only wanted William reinstated but \$3,000 in damages.

The Shurtleff faculty voted to reinstate William when they were notified to appear in the United States Circuit Court in Springfield on the first Monday in June.⁵ Their willingness to reinstate William removed the grounds for the mandamus suit. But Miles Gilbert refused to let his son re-enter Shurtleff, and ordered Abraham Lincoln to file the papers in the trespass suit for damages.

Lincoln's quaint declaration reads in part:

For that whereas heretofore, towit . . . the said plaintiff was lawfully and rightfully, a student of . . . "Shurtleff College" and was, then and there lawfully and rightfully prosecuting his studies, and procuring, and perfecting, his education in said institution; and in regard thereto the said defendants as the President, professors, & tutors, being the faculty thereof . . . and then and there unlawfully and maliciously, suspended the said plaintiff from the said prosecution of his said studies. . . .⁶

The praecipe drawn by David J. Baker is dated January 31, 1857, and was served upon President Read on February 25, and the \$500 bond for costs was signed by Henry S. Baker,

⁴ Read had preceded them to Springfield to lecture on temperance. *Illinois State Journal*, Jan. 11, 1857. He was on the board of managers of the Illinois Temperance Union in 1860. *Ibid.*, Feb. 7, 1860.

⁵ Miles A. Gilbert wrote from Springfield on Jan. 29, 1857 to his son: "I recd. your letter yesterday and I find you gave the President's name as *D. Read*. This will not answer. I must have his name in full. Also give me the first name of O. L. Castle. All the others you gave in full. . . . Fail not to write immediately." The son must have mistakenly given President Read's first name as David instead of Daniel since the case is filed as William B. Gilbert, "by his friend" Miles A. Gilbert *v.* David Read *et al.* Gilbert's letter is in the possession of the author.

⁶ Original document in Ill. State Hist. Lib., gift of the author.

son of David J. Baker. Lincoln's declaration was filed on June 10, 1857, and John M. Palmer filed his demurrer thereto on February 3, 1858. Examination of the files indicates the case was never brought to trial, being postponed each term until 1860.

Palmer's version of the end of the case is contained in a brief note in the *Clinton (Illinois) Register*, March 13, 1896, which was reprinted from the *Washington Post*. He was serving in the Senate at the time and may have spoken at an observance of Lincoln's birthday or he may have been addressing the upper house on the bill to make the birthday a legal holiday:

"Speaking of Lincoln's birthday," said Senator Palmer, "reminds me that the very last case Lincoln ever tried was one in which I, too, was engaged. It was in Springfield, in June, 1860, after Mr. Lincoln had received the presidential nomination. Old David Baker, who had been a senator in the early days, had sued the trustees of Shurtleff college, my alma mater, for expelling his grandson, a lad named Will Gilbert. Mr. Lincoln appeared for the prosecution. I was the college attorney. Mr. Lincoln came into court, and the judge said to him: 'Mr. Lincoln, I'll argue this case for you. You have too much on your hands already. You haven't any case.' And he explained the law and application.

"'Well,' said Mr. Lincoln, with a smile, 'don't you want to hear a speech from me?'

"'No,' said the judge, and the last case Mr. Lincoln tried he—well, he didn't try it at all."

By the time the case was dropped young William Baker Gilbert was attending classes at Harvard Law School.⁷

Evanston, Illinois

BARRY GILBERT

⁷ William Baker Gilbert (1837-1923) was graduated from Harvard Law School in 1861, practiced first in Alton, then in 1863 removed to Cairo and joined the firm of Haynie, Marshall & Gilbert. A year later both his partners moved away, and at twenty-eight he inherited a fine law practice. He induced Judge William H. Green to retire from the circuit court, and the firm of Green & Gilbert continued for nearly fifty years. His only brother, Miles F. Gilbert, became a member of the firm in 1899. William B. Gilbert's three sons were lawyers, of whom the author was the youngest.

A RARE AUTOGRAPHED PHOTOGRAPH

The Illinois State Historical Library has recently acquired a cabinet-sized photograph of Abraham Lincoln which he autographed four days before his election as President of the United States. Taken in 1859, the photograph is known to collectors as Meserve No. 14. It is an oval picture, five by seven inches in size. On the mounting is written, "Yours truly A. Lincoln." The picture was given by Lincoln to George Francis Smith, a dry goods salesman from Plantsville, Connecticut. On November 2, 1860 Lincoln signed for Smith a note written by his secretary John G. Nicolay:

SPRINGFIELD ILL NOV 2, 1860.

GEO. F. SMITH ESQ

Dear Sir—Herewith find my autograph,
which you request.

Yours Truly

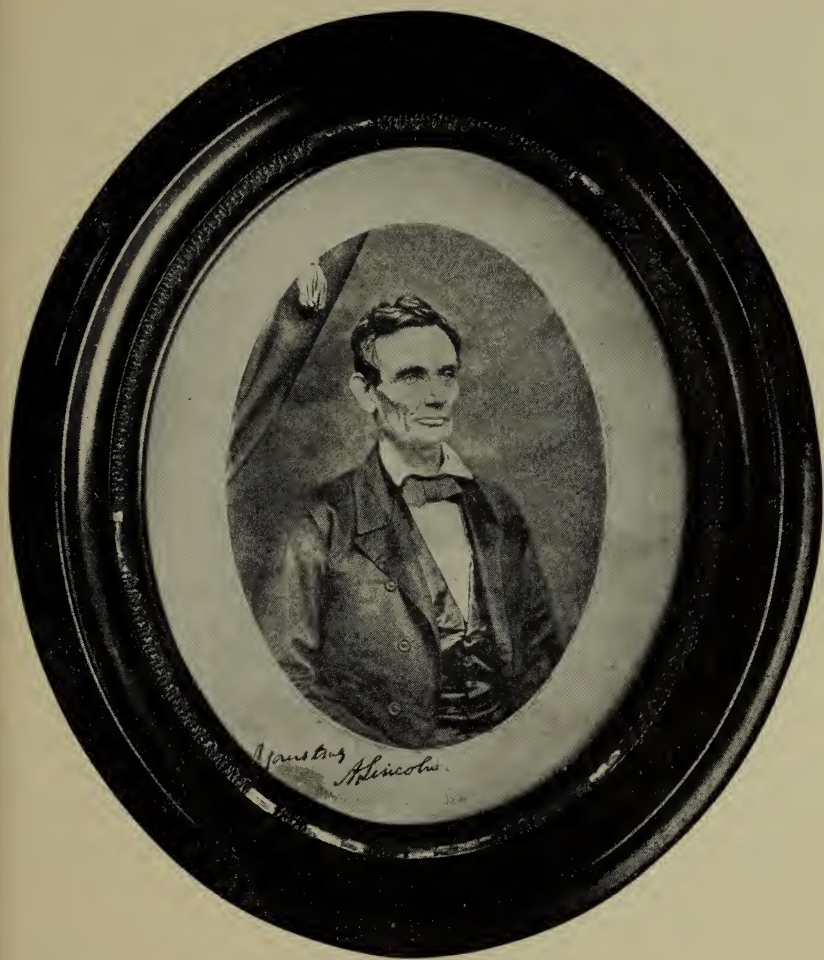
A. LINCOLN.

Smith wrote from Indianapolis on November 11 to his sister Lottie:

While in Springfield Ill I made the acquaintance [of] a brother in law [of] Senator Trumbull [Dr. William Jayne] who introduced me to "Honest Old Abe." I called on Mr. Lincoln twice and found him very easy in his manners. I was very much pleased with him. I obtained from him an autograph letter and obtained a fine large p[h]otograph with his autograph.

The autographed photograph of Lincoln, and the letters, were inherited by two daughters of George F. Smith. The photograph hung on the wall of the Smith home from 1860 until 1928, when the letters and picture came into possession of Harold G. Brooks of Marshall, Michigan, from whom they were acquired by the Historical Library.

Only a few autographed cabinet-size photographs of Lincoln are known. The most familiar is Meserve No. 42 which Lincoln handed to Joshua Speed to take home to his mother.



PHOTOGRAPH WITH LINCOLN'S AUTOGRAPH

Meserve No. 14 was probably taken in Peoria in 1859.

Lincoln inscribed it "For Mrs. Lucy G. Speed, from whose pious hand I accepted the present of an Oxford Bible twenty years ago. Washington, D. C. October 3, 1861 A. Lincoln."

Another cabinet photograph, Meserve No. 34, owned by Edward Eberstadt & Sons of New York City, is unusual in having the place and date "Springfield, Illinois" and "January

26, 1861" on it. Two photographs, Meserve Nos. 6 and 9, each autographed "Yours Truly A Lincoln," were sold at the Oliver R. Barrett auction at the Parke-Bernet Galleries on February 19, 1952; the former is now owned by Dr. Paul B. Freeland, Nashville, Tennessee. The autographed photo given by Lincoln to Gustave Matile, White House clerk, is in the public library at Green Bay, Wisconsin.

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS RECEIVES FINE LINCOLN COLLECTION

The University of Illinois dedicated a special Lincoln Room on the fourth floor of the University Library on June 20. Housed here is the notable collection of 3,000 books and pamphlets donated by Dr. and Mrs. Harlan Hoyt Horner, graduates in the class of 1901, now residents of New York. The Horner collection supplements the University's extensive source materials on Abraham Lincoln gathered under the direction of the late professor J. G. Randall.

The books in the Lincoln Room are arranged in groups. At one end are Lincoln's speeches, letters and state papers, including *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln* edited by the Abraham Lincoln Association at Springfield, and published in 1953 by Rutgers University Press in nine volumes. A half dozen volumes deal with Lincoln's well known letter to Mrs. Bixby, and more than a dozen are devoted to the Gettysburg Address.

No collection of Lincoln's writings would be complete without a generous sprinkling of his humorous stories. The volumes include tales which Lincoln never heard, and few which he told seem funny in print. The most interesting of these joke books is a little volume published in 1864, *Old Abe's Jokes, Fresh from Abraham's Bosom, Containing All His Issues, Excepting the "Greenbacks," to Call in Some of Which, This Work Is Issued.*

The largest group of books contains the notable biographies by Ward Hill Lamon, William H. Herndon, John G. Nicolay and John Hay, Ida M. Tarbell, Albert J. Beveridge, William E. Barton, Carl Sandburg, James G. Randall and Benjamin P. Thomas.

The books about Lincoln illuminate every facet of his momentous career. Here are volumes on Lincoln and the governors, the generals, the preachers, the doctors, the railroads, the press, Lincoln in New Salem, in Vandalia, in Chicago, and so on.

Of special interest are the twenty-four volumes of scrap-books which contain clippings from magazines and newspapers collected by Mrs. Horner for over twenty-five years.

Materials on particular aspects of Lincoln's life are shelved together for the convenience of the student. One shelf holds printed works on the Lincolns in Kentucky; and another, books and pamphlets which relate to the trek of the Lincoln family to Indiana, the sojourn there, and the removal to Illinois; while a third is filled with books about his ancestry.

Two shelves hold the factual as well as sensational accounts of the assassination of President Lincoln and the fate of the conspirators. The widespread fascination of Lincoln's death is reflected in titles such as *I Saw Booth Shoot Lincoln* and *Why Was Lincoln Murdered?* or "Lincoln's Murderer Was Never Caught."

One shelf is filled with works on Lincoln monuments in Springfield, Washington, Fort Wayne, Edinburgh, and in other cities, both domestic and foreign. Interest in Lincoln abroad is revealed further by a shelf of materials in more than twenty languages, including Arabic, Japanese, Icelandic, Hawaiian and Siouan. An early French biography was translated into Dutch, German and Italian. Here is a copy of Lincoln's Second Inaugural in ancient Greek—the prize-winning effort of a student in classics in an English university.

Separate shelves are devoted to books of poems, plays and stories about Lincoln. Many of the little known poems, such as one which appeared in a Siamese newspaper shortly after Lincoln's death, possess great interest. Popular poems on the Lincoln theme such as Edwin Markham's "Lincoln, the Man of the People," Vachel Lindsay's "Abraham Lincoln Walks at Midnight," and Walt Whitman's masterful "When Lilacs Last in the Dooryard Bloomed," are here in many printings. Perhaps the most handsome book in the entire collection is a copy of Whitman's elegy printed on white vellum, with the initial letters hand colored in lilac and bright green.

Students of the drama will be interested in well known plays, such as John Drinkwater's *Abraham Lincoln* and Robert Sherwood's *Abe Lincoln in Illinois*, and in the many pageants written for school use. There are two shelves of historical novels and works for juveniles. The earliest of the many biographies for young people was published during his lifetime; William M. Thayer's *The Pioneer Boy, and How He Became President*, started a trend. The frontispiece shows Abe's proud parents at the cabin door sending the boy off to school.

Two sections of the book shelves in the Lincoln Room are enclosed with locked metal grilles. In one are publications relating to Lincoln issued before 1870, arranged chronologically. Among the campaign biographies is one in which Lincoln's name is spelled "A-b-r-a-m," and another which tells how young Lincoln sold his surveying instruments to obtain needed cash.

The publications of 1862 and 1863 include presidential orders and messages, and there are pamphlets approving and disapproving of Lincoln's conduct of the war. The Union cause is plead in *Plain Words to Plain People by a Plain Man*; the government is denounced in *The Revelations . . . According to Abraham*. This pamphlet in mock biblical style reads as follows: "Then said the Patriarch to the assembled multitude, 'That reminds me of a story.' "

In Lincoln's campaign for re-election emotion ran deep, and the President was often ridiculed. *Abraham Africanus I*, a vicious Copperhead satire, features on the cover an uncomplimentary drawing of Lincoln wearing a crown. Another diatribe, *The Lincoln Catechism*, contains a prayer for Republicans addressed to "Father Abram, who art in Washington . . . Lead us into fat pastures, but deliver us from the eye of detectives; and make us the equal of the negro; such shall be our kingdom, and the glory of thy administration."

Lincoln was shot on Good Friday, 1865, and on the following Sunday, Black Easter, he was eulogized in pulpits from coast to coast. An astonishing number of these sermons were printed; more than a hundred are in the collection.

Behind the second grille are works printed since 1870; these are chiefly limited or special editions. Here are the first edition of Herndon's biography, copies of Lincoln's speeches printed by Bruce Rogers and other famous printers, and works in editions of two hundred and fifty copies or less. One beautiful miniature volume with gilt edges and red leather binding is a fine example of the printer's craft; it contains several Lincoln speeches—yet it is smaller than the end of one's thumb. Here also are the many volumes of etchings by Bernhardt Wall, the imaginative illustrator of the Lincoln theme. Influential books such as Thomas Paine's *Age of Reason*, Parson Weems' *Life of Washington* and Euclid's *Geometry*, are here in the editions which Lincoln read.

The Horner collection contains a copy of the rare album of photographs of Lincoln compiled by Frederick Hill Meserve in 1911. These pictures eloquently reveal how the presidency sapped Lincoln's strength. There are also volumes on Lincoln in photographs, caricature, portraiture, and in marble and bronze.

The Lincoln theme is a rich heritage, and in the Horner collection has been gathered much of it that is in print.

University of Illinois Library

LESLIE W. DUNLAP

NEW LINCOLN STATUE FOR CHICAGO

The Sixty-eighth General Assembly passed, and Governor William G. Stratton approved, House Bill No. 338 "creating the Abraham Lincoln Memorial Commission" of three members. "The Commission shall make a study of the triangular area in the city of Chicago bounded by Western Avenue, Lincoln Avenue and Lawrence Avenue, and shall select a recommended location within such triangular area as a suitable place for the erection of a statue of Abraham Lincoln." The Commission will recommend to the Sixty-ninth General Assembly a site for the statue.

A WHITE HOUSE CLERK

Soon after Lincoln's nomination for the presidency in May, 1860, John G. Nicolay, clerk in the office of Illinois Secretary of State Ozias M. Hatch, became Lincoln's private secretary. Nicolay's former duties in Hatch's office were taken over by Charles H. Philbrick, who, like Nicolay and Hatch, was from Pittsfield. In September, 1864, at the suggestion of John Hay, also of Pittsfield, and Lincoln's assistant private secretary, Philbrick went to Washington. Officially appointed a second-class clerk in the Department of the Interior, he was assigned to duty at the White House to help Nicolay and Hay, retaining his status as clerk, as did William O. Stoddard, Edward D. Neill and Gustave E. Matile, all employed in the White House for some time during the Civil War. Philbrick's letter to his former employer is in the Illinois State Historical Library:

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, DEC 30TH, 1864.

DEAR MR. HATCH

On coming from dinner this evening I find your favor with list of members of Legislature. This, with the Illinois papers, all full of speculations upon the organization and results of the Session, make me feel quite homesick and desirous of being there to see the sport and watch the working

of the new administration and the new Assembly.¹ I received your letter with the enclosure as stated on Christmas morning,—it was my only Christmas gift. The man who sent it was John B Colton's successor as Q. M. of Col [Abner C.] Hardings Regiment.

It is tolerably quiet here, the mob have vacated for the Holidays but we are nonetheless busy in preparing material for them to grind out when they start their mill again next week. Nicolay is gloomy on account of physical and mental trouble. I think if he and I could make an "even divide", he taking a part of my 163 lbs weight, and giving me some of his indifference and industry, that we should each be the better for the bargain. Hay does the *ornamental*, like Hoffmann, and the main labor is divided between three others of us who manage to get along tolerably well with it.²

Lamon has been a good deal in New York lately buying & selling gold.³ I think he was about used up some two months ago but imagine he has recuperated a good deal lately. If he hated extravagance as much as he does Washburne, he would be very rich.⁴ His office is not a paying one, since it has been cut down by Congress so much, and his influence with those in authority I do not think is of any pecuniary value to himself.

George T. Brown has a 'good thing' and attends to it very well.⁵ He is pleasant to everybody and looks out for 'number one'. We are divided in this office on your Senatorial question—George is *mum*, Hay is *against* and I am *for* Yates. A communication will be sent him containing some hints on Mr. Washburne that I told the writer ought to have been written some time ago.

We are preparing for New Year's reception on Monday and expect a throng. I shall perhaps see Mrs. L. there for the first time, except at the Opera and Theatre, since I have been here; Nicolay and Hay ditto.⁶

Remember me to all who remember me and particular to all your family—Ozie especially.⁷ The little fellow was just beginning to know me and I was becoming strongly attached to him. Wishing you a happy New Year and many more of them I will remain

Yours

C. H. PHILBRICK

¹ Gov. Richard J. Oglesby and other state officers were sworn in January 17, 1865. The election of a U. S. Senator developed into an acrimonious contest between Gov. Richard Yates and Congressman Elihu B. Washburne, with Yates winning.

² Francis A. Hoffman, Lieutenant Governor of Illinois.

³ Ward H. Lamon, marshal of the District of Columbia. He had supervision of the jail and had angered several members of Congress by his high handed conduct at the opening of the Civil War. The allowance for feeding prisoners had been cut, reducing Lamon's income.

⁴ Congressman Elihu B. Washburne from Galena, Illinois.

⁵ George T. Brown, sergeant at arms of the U. S. Senate since July 5, 1861. He was the publisher of the *Alton Courier* in 1852, and owner and editor 1854-1860.

⁶ Mrs. Lincoln, in late 1864, was urging her husband to replace Nicolay and Hay in his next term.

⁷ Ozias ("Ozie") was the eldest son of Secretary Hatch.

EX-PRESIDENT FILLMORE OPPOSES LINCOLN

John T. Stuart, first law partner of Lincoln (1837-1841), an old-time Whig, did not become a Republican with most of the Illinois Whigs in 1856. In 1862 he defeated the Republican candidate for Congress, Leonard Swett. In 1864 he was again nominated by the Democrats and Anti-Administration Republicans against his wishes and was defeated by Shelby M. Cullom. The month of August marked the low point in Lincoln's chances of being re-elected. Sherman's victory at Atlanta in September turned the tide of public opinion in the Republicans' favor and assured the President's re-election.

Ex-president Fillmore favored conciliation rather than coercion in the slavery controversy. He opposed Lincoln's administration in its conduct of the Civil War. In the campaign of 1864 he supported George B. McClellan who was nominated in Chicago by the Democrats three weeks after Fillmore's letter to Stuart given here. The original letter is in the Illinois State Historical Library.

Private

BUFFALO, AUGT. 10, 1864.

HON. J. T. STUART

My Dear Sir,

I have this moment received your favor of the 6th. and could not feel otherwise than flattered by your favorable opinion; but I am no candidate for popular favor, and should feel as much surprised as embarrassed if my name should be presented by the Chicago Convention for the office to which you refer; but of this apprehend there is no danger, while there are so many better men who seek the place.

I write nothing for publication; but in my opinion all past issues which have divided the country should be buried in oblivion, and all men who value their own liberty should unite to change the administration and if possible restore the Union, and give peace to our bleeding country.

The naturalized citizens have borne their share in this bloody contest to save the constitution, and it would be the height of ingratitude not to give them all the blessings which it can confer equally with the native born.

But the great point now is to change the administration, for without this all is lost.

Truly yours

MILLARD FILLMORE

BOOKS FROM "BILLY" HERNDON'S LIBRARY

Fifteen books from the library of William H. Herndon, law partner of Abraham Lincoln, 1844-1861, have been acquired by the Illinois State Historical Library. Each of them has been autographed by Herndon two or three times, as he generally wrote his name at the top of the title page and on the front flyleaf and cover. Nearly all contain a general index of the book's contents compiled by Herndon and written in his legible hand on the fly-leaves and endpapers. In several of the books he improved on the regular index.

Most of these books were published after 1871, when Herndon moved to "Fairview," six miles north of Springfield, the six-hundred-acre farm left to him in 1867 by his father, Archer G. Herndon, who had been one of the "Long Nine" with Lincoln in the Illinois legislature thirty years before. There, on the steep bluff he called "Chinkapin Hill," a beauty spot in central Illinois, Herndon spent his last twenty years. The house in which he lived and died is still standing, and bushes and trees he planted grow there today.

Herndon did not write comments on the margins of the pages, but made careful notes in the front and back of the books. The fruits of his careful reading of Charles Bradlaugh's *A Few Words About the Devil* fill nineteen pages. On one page he notes the steps in his newspaper controversy over Lincoln's religion with Mrs. Lincoln and the Rev. James A. Reed, pastor of the First Presbyterian Church in Springfield which she attended in the 1850's. Of even more importance for a study of Lincoln's religious views, as Herndon understood them, are his thirteen pages of comment in *The Culture Demanded by Modern Life*, a book of articles by scientists such as Tyndall, Faraday, Spencer and Lyell.

When Lincoln was preparing to write his First Inaugural Address he asked Herndon to secure four items for him, one of which was Daniel Webster's great "Reply to Hayne," delivered in the United States Senate, January 26, 1830. Herndon supplied a copy of the speech, and there is a possibility that the book which the Historical Library now has, *The Life, Eulogy, and Great Orations of Daniel Webster*, was the one that Lincoln used. Twenty thousand copies were sold in 1853 and it was issued in a larger volume in 1854. Webster's speech, which Lincoln considered the finest specimen of American oratory, fills the last forty-five pages of the book, and the parts which Lincoln used have been marked.

The fifteen autographed books from Herndon's library are:

Walter Bagehot, *Lombard Street: A Description of the Money Market* (New York, 1874)

Joseph H. Barrett, *Life of Abraham Lincoln* (Cincinnati, 1865)

- Charles Bradlaugh, *A Few Words About the Devil* (New York, 1875)
 ———, *The Impeachment of the House of Brunswick* (Boston, 1875)
- John W. Draper, *History of the Conflict Between Religion and Science* (New York, 1882)
- H. L. Eads, *Shaker Sermons* (Shakers, N. Y., 1884)
- Laws of the State of Illinois*, 1879 (Springfield, 1879)
- Bronson S. Keeler, *A Short History of the Bible* (Chicago, 1881)
- Arthur L. Perry, *Elements of Political Economy* (New York, 1874)
- Bonamy Price, *Currency and Banking* (New York, 1876)
- Speeches of Carl Schurz* (Philadelphia, 1865)
- Herbert Spencer, *The Principles of Psychology* (London, 1855)
- Robert E. Thompson, *Social Science and National Economy* (Philadelphia, 1875)
- The Life, Eulogy, and Great Orations of Daniel Webster* (Rochester, N. Y., 1854)
- E. L. Youmans, ed., *The Culture Demanded by Modern Life* (New York, 1874)

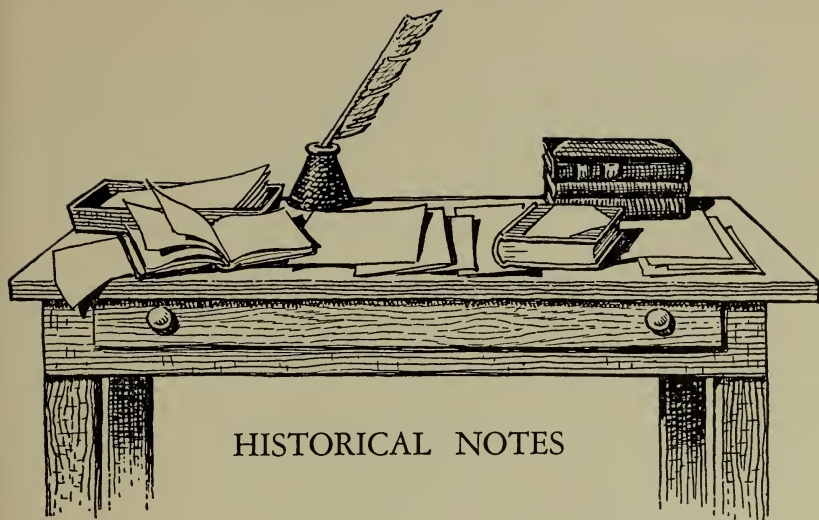
In addition to these books the Historical Library acquired the 4x7½ inch oval metal doorplate from Herndon's Springfield home on Jefferson Street between First and Second, his glasses, whetstone, trivet, knife, matchbox, hand bell and forty-foot linen measuring tape.

RANDALL'S MIDSTREAM WINS AWARD

Lincoln the President, Midstream by the late Professor James G. Randall, former president of the Illinois State Historical Society, was cited as the outstanding book of 1952 by an Indiana-born author. The award was made to his widow, Mrs. Ruth Painter Randall, at the annual Indiana Author's Day luncheon on June 12 at Bloomington, Indiana.

TWO HONORARY DEGREES

Lincoln, Illinois, named for Abraham Lincoln in 1853, celebrated its centennial from August 29 to September 5. Lincoln College, also named for President Lincoln by his permission in 1865, awarded two honorary degrees. Benjamin P. Thomas of Springfield, Illinois, author of *Abraham Lincoln*, was awarded the degree of Doctor of Literature. Carl Haverlin of New York City, president of Broadcast Music, Inc., received the degree of Doctor of Music. The Honorable Alben W. Barkley made the principal address at the convocation. "A Lincoln Letter," by Ulysses Kay and "The Gettysburg Address" by J. Clarendon McClure were sung by the Lincoln College Community Chorus.



HISTORICAL NOTES

THE "PLEISURES" OF WESTERN TRAVELING

Isaac B. Curran came to Springfield, Illinois, at the age of twenty-one after finishing his apprenticeship as a watchmaker and jeweler at Ithaca, New York. His first letter to the folks back home was addressed to his brother O. B. Curran. The original is in the Illinois State Historical Library.

SPRINGFIELD JUNE 29TH 1840

DEAR BROTHER

I have now been in this city about three weeks and have been waiting for a few leisure moments to write home, and now I cannot wait any longer for I want to hear from Ithaca and suppose I shall not receive any letters until I write some myself. if I should wait until I had nothing more to do I should not write for sometime I fear for I don't see but work comes in faster than I can do it.

I arrived here the 10th. after a pleasant journey of 16 Days, and the hardest part of it was from Ithaca to Buffalo on that Line Boat. it was crowded with passengers & freight and so hot that it was difficult for us to keep from melting. Heming Smith & family & myself left the Boat at Lockport & visited the Falls and all the curiosities connected Therewith to my Great satisfaction, and arrived at Buffalo Friday afternoon, stayed there until Sunday morning 9 O'clock. Took passage on the Robert Fulton and had one of the finest Trips that was Ever made from there to Chicago, stopping at the

principle *cittys* on that *Sea-board*. We did not go up *into* the citty of Erie *Pa*. But we *did* at Cleveland and I think it one of the most splendid cittys on the route Ithaca & Buffalo not Excepted. I think I never was so much surprised at any thing in the *Citty line*, for I had fancied Cleveland a Little Low dirty nasty place, and instead of finding it so I found a most magnificent High & Dry Large & Airy—I thought I should like to stop their but as fate had decreed that I should go to Springfield I could not stop.

And the next stop at any place of importance was at Detroit Mich. I tramped all over that citty alone Heming having went off in the cars as soon as the Boat stoped. Saw nothing more their than I expected than Fat healthy looking men. And that is nothing more than what I saw at all the stopping places along the lakes. And it surprised me verry much to see men that could Walk & Talk at all of those Places along Shore. The fact is I had made up my mind that as soon as I left Buffalo I should have to bid farewell to Everything Healthy or Well. I supposed that Every Man I should see would be shaking with the ague But I never saw a more robust looking Sett of men than I saw at Cleveland & Even at huron where they were under watter half the time I saw no one that Looked verry bad. I went in a Drug Store at Huron after some medicine for myself though & the man told me that Buisness was verry dull as their was only 9 cases of the ague in Town and he thought of Leaving as their was (Theirs now a row in the street a Lot of Nigroes fighting with Clubs & Dirks) no prospect of any plague for the times were hard. No Lives lost by the Nigger fight one has lost an Eye I recon though from the looks & the Other has a smart gash on the pate. The Watchman have them both at the Mayors office now. This is a considerable of a place for a small one. their was a fellow came in the shop this afternoon swearing that a man had told him his Brother was hung a few days scince in Missourie and he would be DA if he would stand such stang for said he, My Brother was in the Legislature of this State in 1822 & I have been here Scince 1806 & he had not been here so Long for nothing. We sold him a Bowie Knife with a pistol attached for \$10. Large enough to cut a mans head off beside shooting him. I have heard nothing of him scince but think he has cooled off.

But now about my journey again We had no high blows and Therefore not much Sea sickness but few cast up their *acts*. and I should Like to have been among the few but could not I was two days about as sick as a fellow could be & not vomit and to wind up with I Took a Dose of Emettick & as that would not vomit me I concluded I was not seasick. Took something to settle my stomach and from that time to this I have Enjoyed comfortable hea[l]th. its now getting so dark I cannot see so I will adjourn untill

Tomorrow as I cannot get through in time for this Evenings Mail

Teusday 30th. I think now that I will go on without mentioning any more of my stopping places untill I Land at Chicago Satturday Morning Early. And in Landing at the Mansion House I saw three Ithaca Boys on the steps, & Chas Beers among the three. I was verry much surprised & so was Beers. After Breakfast we walked out and then for the first time I saw the Pararie and had the unspeakeble pleisure of a tramping through them for some distance on the Lake Shore, and it would have been more pleasant to have waided in the watter up to our Knees, (for we went in as deep as that every step) The mud in Chicago in the morning was as much as 8 inches on an avrage and before Night it was Dusty how it was the next morning I cannot say for I left at 9 that Night, and went through the Pararie 15 miles and saw *Land* but once and that was at the $\frac{1}{2}$ way house where they had thrown up a "heap" of mud & Built upon it and the house had sunk Down to the windows. of all the Travaling I Ever done that was the greatest the watter stood as much as 12 inches Deep and the mud under the watter must have been as [much] as 18 for most of the time the watter came in the wi[ndow] of the stage. Looking out you would thought Youself in a vast Lake for not a tree nor hege was to be seen but I suppose the night or rather darkness made some diffrence fortunately we had a Good Driver & he knew the road alltho it laid under watter.

Sunday we passed through a fine Country on the Line of the Great Illnois Canal which is ahead of the Erie Canal some ways. Passed through Lockport a beautiful little town at 9 a.m. and arrived at Juliet [Joliet] where S S Barnes Died and I dont wonder at his dying at all come to see the Place and Smell it. We stayed their two hours and I think if we had stayed two hours longer I should have had the fever or *cholera*, for it certainly was the Dyrtest Nastiest Place I saw on the route *Peru under the Bluff* Not Excepted, and the folks at Ottowa said it was Certain Death for a man to stop their (at Peru) 24 hours. I stayed their waiting for the Steam Boat for Peoria as much as 18 hours Went all over the City (I had a physiciant for a Traveling companion who Locates their) and saw no sickness and heard of but one or two cases of the ague. But said they the way they are dying off Down at Peoria is a caution. And that is the way with all the State. Every town is healthiest. Peoria is the finest situated Village I saw in Illnois its on the north side of the Illinois river on a rise of Ground, with a fine Timber Grove on the north and rooling Pararie all round Excep South and thats the river and 10.000 achers of Swamp.

This was 90 miles from Springfield and we started in the stage at 4 in the morning and was untill 6 crossing the river on the ferry Boat Stage

& all. We passengers told the Driver we had paid our passage to ride in the stage & cared Little about working our passage on a ferry Boat. We had to catch hold of the Bushes and pull the Boat. twas fine sport, But not as fine as Getting out in the sloughs & Lifting the stage & horses out. We had to do that 3 times one day crossing the Pararie. That is another of the Pleisures of this Weastern Traveling. the stage went through hundreds of those sloughs (as they call them) the Passingers (*male*) had to get out & wade and occasionally Lend a helping hand. it was fine sport for me no mistake so Long as I could keep from [falling?].

My sheet is now getting filled up & I have said nothing about Springfield or How I Liked it. I cannot tell yet how I do like the citty for I have not had time to see it, nothing but the State House and thats oppposite the shop, and a verry fine building. But we all thought sunday It was gone for it. This country beats all for Thunder & Lightning and during a severe storm sunday it was struck and I thought the whole town was a going to be knocked down but it only struck the State House & Knocked out a few feet of Brick Work on the top of the wall. Theirs but few houses in this town more than one story High and the State house is 2 & 1/2 & so it will be apt to catch a Little of the Thunder & the Lightning. rents are verry High more than 3 Story C W C [Charles W. Chatterton, Curran's employer] pays \$96. for his front Shop a Little 7 by 9 about as Large as 1/2 of Bens Shop, and \$180. for his Dwelling one story Brick 3 rooms, Kitchen parlour & Bed Room Everything Else is cheap Enough in the Liveing Line. Its getting Dark and time for the mail to close & I must close this (although I have not written half I wanted to) by requesting you to write imediately upon the recpt of this for I shall want to hear from Ithaca by the time a Letter can possibly come, and I have not written to anyone and shall not expect to get a Letter untill I write some I want to know how the Burnt Deastrict Looks. tell Ben to write & not wait for me for I have no time Yet the shop is so full of work. Chas was Down to St Louis Last week after Goods but Done the wise thing did not buy much besides materials and Tools for me. he was their when Miss Phillips Died

I have but 10 minuts more to write and get this in the mail Give my Respects to Jos Burritt & Son and Love to all, mother father Jane & Watt in Particular tell him I will write him soon, Mr. Burritt also as I have some particular buisness with him the P M has rapt for [this] & is waiting so farewell. . . .

I B CURRAN

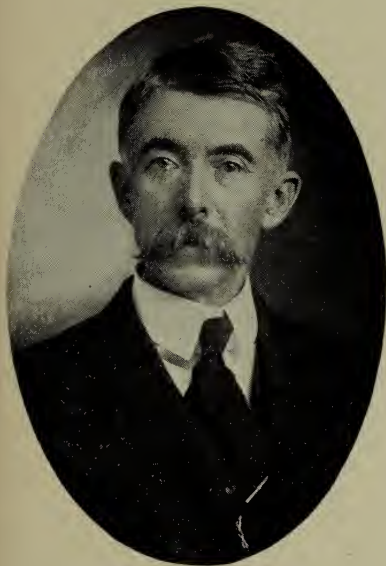
In Haste

To O B CURRAN

P.S. I have not Entered into business yet nor sha[ll] not at present

ORCHARD CITY COLLEGE AND ITS FOUNDER

Orchard City College of Flora opened in 1890 and operated until the early 1920's. Its founder and guiding spirit, Thomas Burton Greenlaw, had wide experience as a teacher and school administrator. A man of great energy and varied talents he published a set of Vocal Music Charts used widely in the public schools. He also served as county superintendent of schools of Clay County during part of the years he was proprietor of the College.



THOMAS B. GREENLAW

Thomas Greenlaw was born in Charlotte, Maine, on March 6, 1847, the son of a Methodist minister. When he was four years old the family moved to western New York and four years later to Dundee, Michigan. Thomas attended the public schools until he was fifteen and then went to an academy at Vassar, Michigan. Soon after he was sixteen he taught his first term of school—in a log schoolhouse at Pine Run, Michigan, twelve miles north of Flint. At eighteen he returned to Charlotte where he taught during the winter term and then went to Boston and worked as bookkeeper for an uncle, R. M. Lowell.

The Greenlaw family moved to Joliet, Illinois, in 1865, where Thomas soon joined them. After six years of teaching at Elwood in Will County he was appointed superintendent of the city schools at Flora. He married Emma Julia Leverich, July 8, 1871. She taught for two years in the primary department at Flora in the public school then at the corner of Second and Mill streets.

Between 1874 and 1890 Greenlaw was superintendent of the public schools for four years at Mattoon, then at Salem and at Chester.

Late in 1889 he purchased a two-story brick house at the corner of Third and Locust streets in Flora. The building was nearly in ruins, but it was restored and a third story added by putting on a mansard roof. Here the Orchard City College opened on June 1, 1890 with thirty-seven students. The faculty consisted of Greenlaw, his sixteen-year-old son, Edwin A., graduate of Chester High School, and Reginald Fyfe who had a master's degree from Brown University. During the next thirty years of its existence the



THE ORCHARD CITY COLLEGE AT FLORA

College trained nearly four thousand young men and women as bookkeepers, typists and court and business stenographers—the average enrollment was between 125 and 150.

In addition to his college work Greenlaw was appointed Clay County's superintendent of schools in 1894, a position which he held for the next four years. At the end of his term he and his younger son Lowell went into the newspaper business. With type, presses and other equipment purchased from H. C. Chaffin, owner of the *Olney Republican*, they started the *Clay County Record*, bringing out their first issue on December 3, 1898. In 1903 they bought the *Southern Illinois Journal* of Flora from A. H. Reed and combined the two papers as the *Southern Illinois Journal Record*. This paper was sold in 1904 to B. M. Maxey.

In the later years of its existence the name of the Orchard City College was changed to Greenlaw's Business College. In 1903 a branch of the business school was established at Olney, with Lowell Greenlaw in charge.

After fifty-six years of teaching Thomas Greenlaw retired. But he continued to keep busy up to the time of his death in 1923, working on an invention, the "Won-Dip" pen. After his patent ran out, other manufacturers adopted its principle.

Greenlaw opened the business college each day with a selection from the Bible and a discourse on some current topic, and often spoke on good morals, clean living and constructive thinking. His students, in addition to improving the quality of teaching in Clay and surrounding counties, left their imprint in numerous other fields. Edwin Greenlaw continued his teaching career, and at the time of his death in 1932 was William Osler Professor of English Literature at Johns Hopkins University. Lowell Greenlaw became an attorney and retired in 1950 as vice-president and general counsel of Pullman, Inc.

Data on Orchard City College and on Thomas Burton Greenlaw have been furnished by his daughter, Mrs. Florence Greenlaw Cunningham of Flora, Illinois.

A PRELUDE TO THE BIRTH OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY

The approval of Stephen A. Douglas' Kansas-Nebraska Bill on May 30, 1854 by President Franklin Pierce opened the floodgates of oratory and awoke the pamphleteers. Allowing the extension of slavery into these territories, gave Lincoln and the Whigs, and particularly the Democrats, an issue which they could not straddle. Political affairs throughout the nation between 1854 and 1856 were in practical chaos. There arose the Anti-Nebraska Democrats, and by 1856 the antislavery Democrats and anti-slavery Whigs were found in sympathy and alliance, while the proslavery factions of both parties were drifting in a similar manner toward a common center.

The first move toward unity on one side was the Anti-Nebraska editors' convention held at Decatur, Illinois, on February 22, 1856. Probably the most important act of this convention was the call issued for a statewide convention of all opposed to the policies of the Democratic administration. The convention which met in Major's Hall in Bloomington on May 29, 1856, is known today as the "Lost Speech" Convention because no copy of the address Lincoln delivered there has been found.

It is with this chaotic state of politics in mind that the letter from

Elihu B. Washburne to Richard Yates quoted below should be read. The original letter is owned by Mrs. Catharine Yates Pickering of Springfield, and a photostatic copy is in the Illinois State Historical Library.

HOUSE OF REPS.

April 3, 1856.

DEAR YATES:

Trumbull, Knox, Woodworth, Norton and myself have consulted as to what is best to be done in our State in regard to the approaching election.¹ We are all agreed, that all our folks in the State who are opposed to this vagabond administration and are in favor of free Kansas, should go into the Anti-Nebraska Convention, called at Bloomington for the 27th [29] of May. Under that call, Republicans, Americans, old Line Whigs, Anti-Nebraska democrats can assemble. The call for the People's Convention at Phila. for the 17th of June is broad and comprehensive enough to take in all the elements of opposition in our State.² Every county in our State should be fully represented in the Bloomington [convention] and by the very best men.³ It can be and should be the most imposing convention ever held in the State. All of our Republicans and Americans in the north, as well as the Anti-Nebraska democrats, will go into the convention and meet the old line Whigs in the southern and center portions of the State—I mean old line whigs who have not gone over bodily to Nebraska locofocoism. You and Lincoln, and Francis, and Gillespie, and Archy Williams, and Grimshaw⁴ must also go into the convention, and we must bury all other issues, except freedom in Kansas. Upon that one issue we can sweep the State. The Bloomington Convention must also send delegates to the Phila. Convention, the best and ablest men in the State. The nominee of *that Convention* will be President.⁵ We always elect when we nominate in Pennsylvania.

If we do not take hold of this Bloomington convention, what shall we do? We all think it is the only way. If we cannot come together as opponents of the Nebraska Infamy, how can we? I want you not only to think of these things, but to go up to Springfield and see and converse with our friends there. If we will all wheel in under that Anti-Nebraska Convention Call, and go to work to get delegations from all the counties, we can have a

¹ Elihu B. Washburne of Galena was serving his second of nine consecutive terms in Congress. Richard Yates had served with him, 1853-1855, before his defeat by Thomas L. Harris. Lyman Trumbull had been in the United States Senate for a year. James Knox of Knoxville and Jesse O. Norton of Joliet were Republicans serving their second terms in the House of Representatives. James H. Woodworth, Anti-Nebraska Democrat, was serving his first term.

² The People's Convention at Philadelphia, better known as the first Republican National Convention, nominated John C. Frémont for President of the United States.

³ Seventy counties sent delegates. Southern Illinois counties were mostly Democratic and sent no delegates.

⁴ Simeon Francis, former editor of the *Illinois Journal*, Springfield; Joseph Gillespie of Edwardsville, Archibald Williams of Quincy, and Jackson Grimshaw of Pittsfield, were lawyers and good friends of Lincoln.

⁵ Three delegates were chosen, with alternates, from each of the nine congressional districts in Illinois.

convention, which in point of character and ability will be without a parallel in the State's history and will strike terror into the ranks of the common enemy. Trumbull says he can procure delegations from all the counties of the 8th district, and if that district can be represented, the 6th and 7th certainly can, and I am not without hope of the 9th.⁶

I want you to take right hold of this matter, Yates, and see how your folks feel through all your part of the State on the subject, and write me fully.

It is no use in talking about Fillmore—he is “deader than a door nail”—north and south the same thing.

Those who think the Slavery democracy are going to walk over the course are mistaken. They are having great trouble. Douglas is fairly in for the nomination, and the Buchanan men, are perfectly savage, while the officers are pushing Pierce.

I am, yours, truly,
E. B. WASHBURN

HON. R. YATES,
Jacksonville
Illinois.

MORMON NAUVOO IN 1842

James Sloan, an emigrant Irish lawyer, became converted to Mormonism and joined the settlement in Jackson County, Missouri. When the Mormons were driven from there, Sloan accompanied them to Nauvoo, where he filled a number of posts of trust and importance. These excerpts from his long letter (original in the Illinois State Historical Library) to his cousin Andrew T. McReynolds of Detroit, intermingled in the original with passages of family reminiscence and a long exposition of Mormon doctrines, give a good description of Nauvoo as it was in 1842, before the more serious disturbances between the Mormons and the “Gentiles.”

CITY OF NAUVOO, ILLS. MAR. 27TH. 1842.

ANDW. T. MCREY[N]OLDS ESQ.

Dear Cousin

Upon Monday last I recd. your affect[ionat]e. letter, in reply to mine. . .

I . . . fitted up a large Waggon & dearbourne, having 7 Horses, & inexperienced Travelling in that way, started for Missouri, with \$100.00 Cash, Beds, Bedding & Clothing, & but little else, (no Furniture,) unless the Waggoner & family, & I was some Dollars in Debt before I got there, built a House, & paid for a piece of land with 5 Horses & large Waggon, & the Church being then persecuted because of our religion we were driven out of

⁶ The ninth district was in the southern part of the state.

that State, unless those who were Slaughtered for the cause of the Gospel of Jesus Christ. This driving & Mobbing business you must have got some knowledge of through the public Papers, if not otherwise.

We are now on the Banks of the Mississippi 200M above St. Louis, 50M above Quincy City, in this State, & came here destitute, being obliged to leave a part of our Goods for want of Waggon, or means to bring them. . . . When I arrived in quincy had not means to pay the Ferry, nor to procure Victuals, got to Saw Firewood in the Streets. Moved here 2 years past, had got some Credit there, & procured \$300.00 worth of Goods through good Conduct, built a log House here, which with all of us having the Ague for 9 Mos., left us with little, but an unfinished House. I then got to work with a Shovel & Wheelbarrow, at 75 cts p day & find myself. I c[oul]d. not chop, & writing I cd. not get to do, nor any thing else easier, & although I am no[w in] the following Situations, yet I seldom have means to pay the Postage of a Letter. . . .

The Church in this City & vicinity amount[s] to between 8 & 10 Thousand Souls. I was appointed general Church Clerk, by the unanimous voice of the Conference in Oct. last. My business is, to keep a Record of the Names of the Members, give Licenses to the Elders Ordained to Preach, & the like, not to say Amen while the Preacher reads the Service of the Day, as in other Churches. The Members of this Church [may] be baptized for their relatives & Friends who are Dead, of all these Baptisms I keep a Record.

The Church is erecting a Temple to the Lord, of Stone, perhaps 140F[eet] or 150F long by 80F wide, of Carved, hewn, & hammered Rock, to be 3 or 4 Stories high, elegantly finished inside, Copper or lead roof, now is up to the height of the Cellar rooms, (10 or 12 ft) 4F thick. It will Contain several Things such as were in Solomons, we expect to receive great Blessings in it, immediately from the Lord, when finished. We have Members here from many parts of the Globe.

There is a Nauvoo House now Erecting, for the reception of Strangers. It is Cellar high of Stone, the rem[ainin]g. 3 or 4 Stories will be Brick, roofed as the Temple. [It] will be, elegantly finished, & splendidly furnished, about 125F long on each front, on a Corner. It is built by an association, under a Charter from the State. I am Secy. to the Committee since July last, of course keep the Stock Certfs., Stock Book, Acct. Books &c. There was a Charter granted incorporating this City in feby. 1841. I was then put in City Recorder, to continue 2 years.

There is a Patriarch [Hyrum Smith] in the Church who pronounces Blessings upon Members. He appointed me his Clerk, & at that I have attended writing the Blessings (Verbatim,) as he pronounced them, three

Days in the Week, since 6th. of Sept. last. There is a Military Body authorized here by Charter, (The Nauvoo Legion,) the Mayor of the City [John C. Bennett], (to whom I am Clerk of the Municipal Court,) who is Major General, a few days past, offered me the situation of War Secy. It belongs to his staff, with the Rank of Col. I accepted of it, altho without a Horse, or means of equipping myself at present, but being over age to be compelled, yet in good bodily Health, & eight Months for equipment, I ventured in hope. It, & the situation (I am told,) of Surgeon, are the only ones from which there will be any Emoluments. . . .

I belong to the Church of Jesus Christ of Latterday Saints. . . . This Church is gathering here, which is called Zion, or the New Jerusalem. We have a Prophet, raised by the Lord for to lead his Church here upon the Earth, to receive Revelations for that purpose, that his People may be prepared for his coming at the ushering in of the Millen[n]ial Reign, to Reign with him a Thousand Years. . . . I am an Elder, and High Priest in this Church which Office is high, and one that is of responsibility, & I have always been in good standing amongst my Brethren. . . .

Yr. Ever Affecte. Cousin.

JAMES SLOAN.

A DEFEATED CANDIDATE OF 1852

The bitterness of the congressional campaign of 1852 in the Quincy district between William A. Richardson, Democrat, and Orville H. Browning, Whig, is indicated in a letter the latter wrote to John C. Bagby of Rushville, Illinois, which is in the Bagby Papers in the Illinois State Historical Library.

Richardson had taken Stephen A. Douglas' seat in Congress in 1847 and, having served three terms, sought another. Browning's campaign travel was mainly by carriage and horseback, borrowing horses after his own were worn out. Outsiders were brought into the district to aid the candidates, most active of whom were Usher F. Linder of Charleston and William Bebb, governor of Ohio 1846-1848.

Browning and Richardson met on the same platforms in the last ten days before the election on November 2, 1852. Richardson carried the city of Quincy, 730 to 607; and Franklin Pierce, Democratic candidate for president, had an even larger majority, 742 to 557, over Winfield Scott. Browning lost the fifth district to Richardson, 7,018 to 8,397 votes.

Browning sought consolation in his diary: "But I have made the canvass of the district without descending to any little means or low vulgarities.

Have preserved my self respect, and satisfied my friends, and better friends a man never had I will try and bear it like a man."

Ten days after the election Browning wrote to Bagby:

QUINCY, NOV 12 1852

DEAR JOHN

Badly, badly beaten, but, I trust, not conquered. Our columns have been broken and dispersed, but we can, and *will*, rally them again, and, under more auspicious circumstances, lead them on to victory.

This is no time for whigs to haul down their colours. Misfortunes crowd thick upon us, but we must meet them like men—breast the storm—be true to the country, and with hero hearts fight on, and fight ever, and we will ultimately triumph. The whig fires never burned more brightly in my own bosom than now, and if the campaign were to begin to day, and I knew in advance the defeat which awaited us, I would not hesitate to enter the lists, and do valiant battle in the good cause. Ours is the cause of our country; ours the principles of justice, and of truth, and we must not falter in their advocacy.

We were beaten here by the foreign vote—the Germans, and the Irish. Had there been no presidential election pending the Germans would have gone with us. But the most unscrupulous, and infamous means were resorted to, to carry them against Scott, and as a general thing when they voted against him they voted against all who were on the ticket with him.

Indeed they were made to believe that they could not do otherwise. If he had not been running I would have got the support of most of them. As it was I ran ahead of the ticket 127 votes, whilst Richardson fell considerably behind his.

On my own account I care but little for my defeat. On account of the noble hearted whigs of the district I care much. They did all that men could honorably do, and deserved success tho they have failed to attain it. Remember me kindly to all the boys, and tell them to be of good cheer.

Make my best respects to Mrs Bagby, and believe me ever

Your friend

O. H. BROWNING

Send me a paper containing the full returns of your county



ILLINOIS SCRAPBOOK

ILLINOIS TOWNS 130 YEARS AGO

The "gazetteers" of the early nineteenth century corresponded in a way to modern "tourist guides" except that they were intended for one-way trips—the "tourists" of that day were looking for new homes. The earliest and one of the rarest of such books was Lewis C. Beck's *A Gazetteer of the States of Illinois and Missouri* (Albany, New York, 1823). Here are his accounts of nine Illinois towns, with the 1950 census figure in brackets following each name. They are interesting for the factual reporting as well as for Beck's estimate of the outlook for each of the towns. After 130 years some of these have proved surprisingly accurate.

Belleville [32,721], a flourishing post town, and the seat of justice of St. Clair county. It is situated on the east bank of Richland creek, four miles east of the bluffs, which bound the American bottom, and fifteen miles southeast of St. Louis. It contains a court house, a jail, an academy, and a public library. . . . The population of this town is upwards of five hundred. It is in the centre of the Turkey-Hill settlement, which is one of the most flourishing in the state. . . . It is located on an old Spanish claim. [P. 91].

Cahokia [794], a post village in St. Clair county, three fourths of a mile east of the Mississippi river, and five miles south of St. Louis. It is one of the oldest settlements in the state. . . .

In 1766, Cahokia contained forty families; and at the commencement of the revolution, their number had increased to about fifty. . . . Cahokia [1823] contains above 100 houses, the majority of which are built of pickets, one story high: they generally have piazzas on every side, and being whitewashed on the outside,

have a lively appearance. Here is also a Roman Catholic chapel, in which service is regularly performed. The inhabitants, between 4 and 500 in number, are principally French. These preserve all their ancient manners and customs; with few exceptions, are poor, indolent and illiterate. The utmost extent of their industry is to raise a few acres of corn, and to procure a few loads of prairie hay.

This place formerly enjoyed, on account of its proximity to the Indians, an extensive and valuable fur trade; but at present it possesses few or no advantages, and from the number of decayed and deserted houses, appears to be on the decline. The situation, although somewhat elevated, is damp and disagreeable: in high water it is frequently inundated. The Americans seldom pass a season without suffering from the effects of the miasma arising from the ponds in the vicinity. The French, whether on account of their being inured to the climate, their manner of living, or from their possessing more hardy constitutions, are little affected by it, but generally enjoy good health. Coal is found in the vicinity of this place. Its discovery was singular, and deserves to be noticed. "Some years since, a tree taking fire, communicated to its roots, which continued burning for some time: upon examination they were found to have passed through a bed of coal. The fire continued until it was completely smothered by the falling in of large masses of incumbent earth."

It may be remarked here, that a town has been laid out on a part of

the commons of Cahokia, called the *City of Illinois* [now East St. Louis, 82,295]; the lots have been distributed among the citizens, and the distribution has been confirmed by a late act of congress. . . . It possesses no advantages, and will probably never be valuable, except for corn-fields and potato patches. [Pp. 94-96].

Chicago [3,620,962], a village in Pike county, situated on Lake Michigan, at the mouth of Chicago creek. It contains 12 or 15 houses, and about 60 or 70 inhabitants. From this place to Green Bay, by way of the lake, the distance is 275 miles, and 400 to the island of Michillimackinac. On the south side of the creek stands Fort Dearborn. "The country around Chicago is the most fertile and beautiful that can be imagined. It consists of an intermixture of woods and prairies, diversified with gentle slopes, sometimes attaining the elevation of hills, and irrigated with a number of clear streams and rivers, which throw their waters partly into Lake Michigan, and partly into the Mississippi river. As a farming country, it unites the fertile soil of the finest lowland prairies, with an elevation, which exempts it from the influence of stagnant waters, and a summer climate of delightful serenity; while its natural meadows present all the advantages for raising stock, of the most favored part of the valley of the Mississippi. It is already the seat of several flourishing plantations, and only requires the extinguishment of the Indian title to the lands, to become one of the most attractive fields

for the emigrant. To the ordinary advantages of an agricultural market town, it must hereafter add that of a depot for the inland commerce, between the northern and southern sections of the union, and a great thoroughfare for strangers, merchants and travelers." (Schoolcraft's Travels.) [P. 100].

Kaskaskia [112], an incorporated post town, and the seat of justice of Randolph county, and formerly the capital of the state. It is situated on the right bank of the river of the same name, seven miles above its junction with the Mississippi, from which it is about three miles east. It is near the southern extremity of the American bottom. The first settlement made here was by the French of Canada, shortly after the visit of La Salle in 1683; and so long as the French continued in possession of the Illinois country, Kaskaskia was its capital, and was flourishing and populous. When Charlevoix visited it in 1721, it contained a Jesuit college, the ruins of which only remain. In 1763, this place, as well as the country east of the Mississippi, was ceded by France to Great Britain. In 1766, it contained about 100 families, which number it retained until the revolutionary war. In 1778, the fort situated on the east side of the Kaskaskia river, was taken by Col. afterwards Gen. George Rogers Clarke. After that time, and until within a few years, this town continued gradually to decline; owing chiefly to the ordinance of 1787, which prohibited slavery and involuntary servitude, in what was then

denominated the northwestern territory. The slave holders were disposed to preserve this species of property, and in order to do it effectually, they abandoned their ancient habitations, and joined their friends in the new dominions of Spain, on the west side of the Mississippi.

At present this place contains upwards of 150 houses. They are scattered over an extensive plain; and the greatest proportion are built of wood, in the French style. Many of them have fine gardens in front and rear, which give them a rural appearance. Here is a Catholic church, a court house and jail, and a land-office for the sale of public lands in this district. A bridge is about to be erected across the Kaskaskia river, under the authority of an act of the legislature. This will be of immense advantage to the town and surrounding country. . . . From the town to the junction of the Kaskaskia with the Mississippi, there is a body of land, called "*the Point*," which is low, and subject to inundation, but well timbered. It abounds in wild horses, numbers of which are annually caught. [Pp. 120-21].

Portland [nonexistent], a town in Randolph county, laid out in 1819 . . . on the east bank of the Kaskaskia river, at its junction with the Mississippi. This is perhaps the best town site on the Illinois side of the Mississippi, from the mouth of the Ohio to Alton. The situation is high and healthy. It is supplied with a number of fine springs, and the vicinity furnishes building materials and

fuel in great abundance. The shore at this place is bold and rocky, and the mouth of the Kaskaskia furnishes what is very rare on the Mississippi—a good harbor for boats at all seasons of the year. The first building was erected here in the spring of 1820, and there is now in operation an ox, saw and grist mill, which are not only useful to the inhabitants, but profitable to the enterprising proprietor. This place also contains a number of good mechanics of different kinds. A large ware house has also been erected here.

From the ease with which produce can be shipped to this place, and the constant intercourse which may be had between it and New-Orleans, it bids fair to become the principal depot of the country, watered by the Kaskaskia and its tributaries. [Pp. 148-49].

Prairie du Rocher [662], an incorporated post village in Randolph county, on the American bottom, near the rocky bluff, from whence it derives its name, twelve miles northwest of Kaskaskia. It was settled by the French about the same time with the other villages on the Mississippi. Its situation is low and unhealthy, and during wet seasons is very disagreeable. The houses are generally built in the French style, and the inhabitants are, with few exceptions, poor and illiterate. The streets are very narrow and dirty. Here is a Roman Catholic chapel, which is its only public building. In the vicinity, is an extensive common, which is attached to the village, and is under the controul of the trustees.

Prairie du Rocher, in 1766, contained 14 families; at present, between 30 and 40. . . . Few Americans have as yet disturbed the repose of the ancient inhabitants of this place, nor is it probable they ever will, as it possesses no advantages, and is withal very unhealthy. [Pp. 149-50].

Shawneetown [1,917], a post town, and the seat of justice of Gallatin county, situated on the Ohio river, nine miles below the mouth of the Wabash. . . . The bank of the Ohio at this place has a gradual ascent, but is annually subjected to inundation. On account of the peculiar situation of this town, it commands a fine view of the river for several miles above and below. It contains a bank, a printing office, from which a weekly paper is issued, a land office for the district, and about 100 dwelling houses, a great proportion of which are built of wood. The town extends along the river about half a mile, but has rather the appearance of decline. This may be owing to the inundations of the river, and the unhealthiness which they occasion. Mr. Birkbeck, in his notes on a journey in America, remarks: "This place I account as a phenomenon, evincing the pertinacious adhesion of the human animal to the spot where it once has fixed itself. As the lava of Mount Etna cannot dislodge this strange being from the cities which have been repeatedly ravaged by its eruptions, so the Ohio, by its annual overflowings, is unable to wash away the inhabitants of Shawneetown. Once a year, for a series of successive springs, it has carried away the fences from

the cleared lands, till at length they have surrendered and ceased to cultivate them. Once a year, the inhabitants make their escape to higher lands, or take refuge in their upper stories, until the waters subside, when they recover their position on this desolate sand bank." [Pp. 155-56].

Springfield [81,628], a post town, and the seat of justice of Sangamo county, laid out in 1821. It is situated on Spring creek, a branch of the Sangamo river. . . . Although this place is as yet in its infancy, the circumstance of its being the centre of a fertile and thickly-settled district of country, must soon render it of considerable importance. [P. 157].

Vandalia [5,471], the capital of the state, and the seat of justice of Fayette county, laid out in 1813 [1819], by commissioners appointed for that purpose, under the authority of the state. It is situated on the west bank of the Kaskaskia river. . . . The site is high and undulating, and entirely above the inundations of the river. The streets cross each other at right angles, and are 80 feet in width. The public square is a high and commanding situation, and is already ornamented with a temporary state house, and a brick bank. There are also in the town, several stores, a printing office, from which is issued a weekly paper, entitled the "Illinois Intelligencer," about 150 dwelling houses, and 700 inhabitants, among which are professional men, and mechanics

of every description. . . .

The advantages of Vandalia are by no means few or inconsiderable. Many intelligent men are still, however, of opinion that a more eligible situation might have been selected. . . . Although it does not possess commercial advantages, the Kaskaskia being too low for navigation for more than nine months in the year, yet the fact of its being the seat of government for 20 years, must secure to it a rapid increase of population. Besides this, the fertility of the surrounding country, must also contribute much to its improvement. . . . In regard to health, Vandalia may be said to differ little from the neighboring towns. Although its local situation is such as to lead to the conclusion, that it will be healthy, yet the inundated alluvion, and the ponds by which it is surrounded, bring with them their train of summer and autumnal fevers. But as this is a calamity attendant upon all newly settled countries, it can form no particular objection to this place. Among the advantages which it possesses, are fine springs in abundance. Good water may be obtained in any place by digging about 20 feet. A large proportion of the inhabitants of this place and the vicinity are Germans, who emigrated in 1820. In general they are good citizens, and sustain the character of their countrymen, in different sections of the United States, for industry and frugality. [Pp. 161-63].



BOOK REVIEWS

Impatient Crusader: Florence Kelley's Life Story. By Josephine Goldmark. (University of Illinois Press: Urbana, 1953. Pp. 217. \$3.50.)

As Illinois' first Chief Inspector of Factories, appointed by Governor John Peter Altgeld in July, 1893—just sixty years ago—Mrs. Florence Kelley went into the glass plants at Alton and uncovered conditions so shocking that she made the glass industry the subject of a prompt special report to the Governor. As Josephine Goldmark writes in this excellent biography of Mrs. Kelley and her times: "Dickens himself, in his crusades against cruelties to children, might have painted the picture."

The prime movers in the successful battle for the factory law passed in Altgeld's first legislative session were those consecrated women who gathered at Chicago's Hull House, Jane Addams, Florence Kelley, Ellen Gates Starr and the rest. Mrs. Kelley, daughter of William Darrah "Pig-Iron" Kelley of Pennsylvania, was the wife of Dr. Lazare Wishniewski, and the mother of three children. She was graduated from Cornell University, studied at the University of Zurich, and was admitted to the bar after attending Northwestern University Law School. Although not a practicing attorney, her knowledge of the law enabled her to see through the subterfuges of lawyers, prosecutors and judges.

The new Illinois factory law was being successfully evaded, wrote Mrs. Kelley:

by dissolute men and women who gathered in orphan and deserted children from the poorhouses of five counties adjacent to that in which stands the city of Alton, and from the orphan asylums in St. Louis, and made affidavits as "guardians" of the children that the lads were fourteen years of age when

they were really from seven to ten years. The "guardians" then proceeded to live upon the earnings of the children which were, in 1893, forty cents a day for small boys and sixty cents for larger ones.

The child labor which Mrs. Kelley found in Illinois stockyards aroused her even more. She wrote in an official report:

Some of the children are boys who cut up the animals as soon as the hide is removed, little butchers working directly in the slaughter house, at the most revolting part of the labor performed in the stockyards. These children stand, ankle deep, in water used for flooding the floor for the purpose of carrying off blood and refuse into the drains; they breathe air so sickening that a man not accustomed to it can stay in the place but a few minutes; and their work is the most brutalizing that can be devised.

This fearless woman hit hardest at the high rate of accidents to children who worked around unguarded machinery. In her report to Governor Altgeld in 1895 she wrote, "Killing children by machinery has not yet been made a crime in Illinois." She noted bitterly the case of a boy she found operating a machine at which his father had been severely injured, "so as to hold the job for him!"

No hundred men of her time did as much as this woman to expose these abuses, to demand their correction, to organize and center public opinion upon them and in the end to legislate many of them out of existence.

When Governor Altgeld's term expired in 1897 Florence Kelley was immediately replaced by "a man who had been for twenty-seven years on the payroll of the Illinois Glass Company at Alton." From 1899 until her death in 1932 Mrs. Kelley was general secretary of the National Consumers League in New York. Both nationally and internationally she sought to awaken consumers to their responsibility for the conditions under which their goods were produced. She helped Louis D. Brandeis develop the famous "Brandeis Brief" in support of welfare legislation.

Woman suffrage, women's rights as jurors, children's legislation, maximum hours laws—Florence Kelley was a pioneer battler for them all. She joined in the fight to establish the United States Children's Bureau in Washington and worked closely with Julia Lathrop and Grace Abbott, the Bureau's first two directors. She consulted with Dr. Alice Hamilton who blazed the trail in the study of industrial diseases and poisons which killed or wrecked so many lives.

The final estimation? As a friend and co-worker of Florence Kelley, the late Josephine Goldmark writes: "She was a woman on the heroic scale, generous and reckless of herself, with a genius for kindling others to serve—not herself, but the causes for which she made her plea, a plea impassioned yet always fortified by facts."

This book is a sign of the new awareness at the University of Illinois Press of the responsibility for the publication of books about people and events in Illinois that have helped make the better America in which we live.

Collinsville

IRVING DILLIARD

Nancy Hanks Lincoln, A Frontier Portrait. By Harold E. Briggs and Ernestine B. Briggs. (Bookman Associates: New York, 1952. Pp. 135. \$2.50.)

Nancy Hanks and Ann Rutledge, the two most controversial women in Abraham Lincoln's life, left no written records. Both died too early. The verified facts of their lives can be written on one page, and yet books are published about them. The latest, *Nancy Hanks Lincoln, A Frontier Portrait*, is a splendid sifting of the legends and stories—and they are legion—about Lincoln's mother. It includes genealogical data on the Lincoln and Hanks families. All the written records which Nancy Hanks signed with her mark, and the Hardin County, Kentucky, records in which her husband Thomas Lincoln is mentioned, have been noted by the authors. Their portrait of Thomas coincides with that of Dr. Louis A. Warren: Abraham Lincoln's father was a man of some substance and standing when he married and for the next ten years, prior to moving to Indiana late in 1816.

The account of pioneer life as Nancy knew it—the amusements, cabin life, food, sickness and medical care, religion, slavery, peddlers and schools—is interestingly told.

Thomas Lincoln purchased three farms in Kentucky and with each had title trouble because he did not have "the right kind of papers." This brought lawsuits and losses and was the prime cause of the Lincolns' removal to Indiana, a wild region where life was too hard for Nancy Hanks Lincoln. In less than two years—October, 1818—she was buried one hundred rods from their cabin, on a knoll near the deer run. Today thousands visit her grave, for she was the mother of Abraham Lincoln.

H. E. P.

Grant and His Generals. By Clarence Edward Macartney. (The McBride Company: New York, 1953. Pp. 352. \$5.00.)

Fate and ability lifted General Ulysses S. Grant to a position nearly equal to that held by Napoleon in military history. To explain this position Dr. Macartney compares Grant with the generals most closely associated with him. Thirteen generals and Lincoln are used as foils to Grant's actions and character. These generals, compared with Grant in separate chapters, are Thomas, Meade, McPherson, Rawlins, Logan, Sheridan, Wilson, Halleck, Butler, W. F. Smith, McClelland, Burnside and Sherman.

John A. Rawlins, one of Grant's neighbors in Galena, was one of his most influential generals. Although not especially skilled in military matters or administration, Rawlins gave Grant more important succor—steadfast loyalty and admonition when liquor tempted him. Rawlins was a hard worker with a deep hatred of alcohol. As a reward for his services Grant made him secretary of war in 1869, but Rawlins was a victim of the war and died of tuberculosis a few months later. Grant said of him: "He comes the nearest to being indispensable to me of any officer in the service" (p. 75).

John A. Logan, another Illinois general, was ranked by Grant as one of the two most able civilian officers of the war. He was chosen to replace Thomas at Nashville if Thomas refused to attack Hood's army.

Dr. Macartney describes John A. McClernand as "one of the chief tragedies on Grant's path to fame and immortality" (p. 244). Perhaps a better description would be that of a trouble maker. By using his political influence he caused Grant a great deal of trouble.

The author summarizes Grant's success by pointing out that in addition to his fine military mind he was very fortunate in obtaining his position of general-in-chief after Lincoln and the North realized that only extreme sacrifices and a single supreme commander could win the war.

This very readable and interesting book shows good insight into the problems of command in the Civil War, but a few minor errors might be mentioned. The date for the battle of Chickasaw Bayou should be December 29, 1862, not December 9 (p. 61). It is not certain that Wade H. Gibbes actually fired the first shot at Fort Sumter (p. 134). Edmund Ruffin's claim to this "honor" is as good or better than that of Gibbes. Halleck revoked Grant's order expelling Jewish merchants from his command on January 4, 1863, not 1864 (p. 305). McClernand was restored to his command of the Thirteenth Corps in February, 1864, not 1863 (p. 244).

University of Illinois

WAYNE C. TEMPLE

Reporters for the Union. By Bernard A. Weisberger. (Little, Brown and Company: Boston, 1953. Pp. 316. \$4.50.)

This volume on newspaper correspondents who followed the Union armies in the Civil War opens with a description of the only monument to these gatherers of war news. Planned and erected by the *New York Herald's* George Alfred Townsend, better known as "Gath," it stands on the site of the Battle of South Mountain in Maryland. The tablet honors 106 writers and sixteen artists for Northern newspapers, nine Southern correspondents and twenty men listed as "Army Artists."

Civil War correspondents wrote more eyewitness stories than is possible

in war today. Some were diligent and endured much to be on the scene during the battles, and to escape the wrath of those generals who fought with one eye on the front page. It was a large, long and costly war, taking more than a half million lives and drawing more than one quarter of a million soldiers from Illinois.

James Gordon Bennett's *New York Herald* spent money freely to get the news ahead of Horace Greeley's *New York Tribune*, and several of his over-zealous men were clapped into prison. Months after the war began any reporter could write anything he could put on the telegraph. Generals Grant and Sherman were among the most outspoken against the correspondents and each would gladly have sent them all home as the easy solution of censorship.

Author Weisberger writes a lively book. Generals and reporters are often characterized in a few pungent sentences. He notes the courtesies shown in army headquarters to Henry J. Raymond, editor of the *New York Times*, and others. The reporters who made reputations in the war wrote for the Republican press exclusively. Difficulties multiplied in the path of a Democratic reporter.

"Datelines and Democracy," the concluding chapter, gives brief extracts from some of the best written war stories. The author crowds some fifty reporters into his 316 pages, and as much of the war and newspaper rivalry as possible.

The index is good, but the grouping of several citations into one footnote makes difficult the rapid checking of statements and quotations. This study might have been enriched if more manuscript collections—such as those in the Illinois State Historical Library, especially of Union generals Grant, McClelland, Palmer, Grierson and Banks—had been utilized.

H. E. P.

Abe Lincoln an Anthology. Compiled and edited by Hilah Paulmier. (Alfred A. Knopf: New York, 1953. Pp. 306, xiii, \$3.50.)

This anthology, designed for youngsters, is a hodgepodge of biography, fiction and poetry. The selections are well-chosen and interesting. Arranged chronologically, they touch many minor and some major events of Lincoln's life. In the concluding section, Part Five, are excerpts from seven of Lincoln's speeches, quotations, and a "calendar" chronology. The compiler displays no outstanding talent for writing in five stories contributed by her own pen. Numerous errors could have been eliminated by any proof reader familiar with the Lincoln story. The index is commendable. Format and illustrations are attractive.

H. E. P.



NOTABLE SPEAKERS FOR ANNUAL MEETING

MacKinlay Kantor, author of more than twenty books including *The Voice of Bugle Ann*, *Long Remember*, *The Romance of Rosy Ridge* and the recent *Daughter of Bugle Ann*, will address the annual dinner of the Illinois State Historical Society in the Mattoon Masonic Temple on Friday evening, October 9. The two-day session will be held at Mattoon and Charleston. A second notable speaker, Dr. William J. Petersen, superintendent of the State Historical Society of Iowa, will address the luncheon meeting in Charleston on Saturday, October 10. Dr. Petersen is an authority on Mississippi River travel and his subject will be "Tall Tales of the Mississippi."

The Society's headquarters will be at the Hotel U. S. Grant in Mattoon where registration will begin at 10 A.M., Friday. A workshop session on problems of local historical societies will precede the Friday luncheon at the hotel. The annual business meeting will be held in the new Burgess-Osborne Memorial Auditorium. This will be followed by a tour of the General Electric Company's Mattoon plant (camera flash bulb division), and a punch bowl sponsored by the local historical society.

On Saturday morning there will be a tour of the Lincoln landmarks in Coles County—the Thomas Lincoln Home, Moore Home, Lincoln Log Cabin State Park, site of the Lincoln-Douglas Debate and the County Courthouse. Luncheon will be served on the campus of Eastern Illinois State College. Dr. Charles H. Coleman and Dr. Glenn H. Seymour, of the history faculty, who are co-chairmen of the Charleston section of the program, will act as guides on the tour. Adjournment of the session will follow Dr. Petersen's talk at the luncheon.

ILLINOIS' FIRST ELECTRIC STREET RAILWAY

The first electric trolley line to be operated in Illinois was in Ottawa, and the first run on the partially completed system was made on August 9, 1889. This trial run was from the company's engine-house in North Ottawa to the La Salle County fairgrounds on Norris Drive. The picture on the front cover of this *Journal* was taken either during the trial run or soon thereafter. An enlargement is on the wall of the First National Bank of Ottawa. It also appears in the pamphlet which the bank published in connection with the Ottawa centennial.

In the picture the twelve cars are lined up on Columbus Street, headed south. In the background is the First Methodist Church at the northwest corner of Columbus and Jefferson streets, built in 1865-1866 and the oldest building in Ottawa in continuous use as a church. The third and fourth cars and two more near the end of the line are "summer cars," the open-air type where the passengers entered the seats from the street and the conductor walked along the step and collected the fares. Perhaps these were trailer cars because they do not have overhead trolley poles. It will be noted, too, that while the cars are filled to over-capacity there are no women passengers.

Ottawa's electric streetcar system, in addition to being the first in Illinois, was a pioneer in the field, since the first one in the country was put in operation in Richmond, Virginia, in January, 1888. The Ottawa line was in financial difficulties in 1895 and ceased operation temporarily, but was reorganized and ran until the late 1920's when the bus and automobile made it obsolete.

CENTENNIAL CELEBRATIONS

More towns and cities in Illinois are celebrating their centennials this year than in any previous year. Pageants, parades, beauty queen contests and 100-page centennial-edition newspapers are some of the features. Kangaroo courts enforce compliance with rules for costumes and beards. Kankakee, with a budget of \$30,000, held elaborate ceremonies on June 21-27. Ottawa featured a re-enactment of the Lincoln-Douglas Debate of 1858 by Senators Paul H. Douglas of Illinois and George W. Malone of Nevada, on July 18.

In Ottawa, Litchfield, Mendota, Lincoln and Atlanta interesting histories were published. C. C. Tisler, a vice-president of the Illinois State Historical Society and long known as the historian of Ottawa, wrote the attractive fifty-one-page account of the highlights of its history, and supplied historical data for a pamphlet issued by the First National Bank of Ottawa. He also wrote a sixteen-page history of the Jordan Hardware Company which has been operated in the same location by the members of one family for

the past 113 years, and is the oldest retail hardware store in the state.

Mendota's 473-page history titled *Magnificent Whistle Stop* was more pretentious than any of the others, but Litchfield's 208 pages were larger in size and included many illustrations. It can be obtained for \$2.25 postpaid by addressing the Litchfield Centennial Committee.

The *History of Atlanta, 1853-1953*, sponsored by the Woman's Club, dealt with all phases of life in a small community. The book has twenty-eight illustrations in its eighty-eight pages. "Atlanta—Saga of the Soil" was the title of the centennial pageant by Howard Paul staged on June 12-13.

Among the towns holding centennial celebrations were:

Annawan, September 4-5
 Assumption, September 24-26
 Atlanta, June 12-13
 Casey, August 31-September 5
 Centralia, August 24-29
 DuQuoin, July 4
 Gillespie, June 27
 Kankakee, June 21-27
 Kansas, July 15-19
 Lincoln, August 29-September 5
 Litchfield, August 5-8
 Mendota, August 9-15
 Ottawa, July 12-19
 Rochelle, June 8-14
 Scales Mound, July 3-4
 Tonica, September 11
 Wenona, July 25-August 2
 Williamsville, July 23-25

32,000 VIEW TWO LINCOLN PLAYS

A total of more than 32,000 persons attended the twenty performances of two plays based on Abraham Lincoln's life which were presented this summer at the Kelso Hollow Theater in New Salem State Park.

"Lincoln at New Salem," which replaced "Forever This Land!" as the production of the New Salem Lincoln League, was presented on July 22-26 and July 29-August 2. The ten performances attracted an attendance of more than 12,000. Del Yarnell of Chicago played the role of Lincoln and the supporting cast and staff numbered about seventy volunteer workers. Admission prices were \$1.00 and \$1.50 for adults, and 25 cents for children.

Robert E. Sherwood's Pulitzer Prize play "Abe Lincoln in Illinois" was presented to audiences of more than 20,000 during the ten days of the 1953 Illinois State Fair, August 14-23. This was the eighth consecutive season that the play had been presented by the Abe Lincoln Players, Inc. of Springfield, with State Representative G. William Horsley as Lincoln. Admission prices were 74 cents for adults, and 25 cents for children. For the 1954 season the group plans weekend showings over a period of about a month rather than the ten consecutive performances.

SENATOR BARR STATUE DEDICATED

Ceremonies marking the dedication of a bronze statue of the late State Senator Richard J. Barr of Joliet were held in the second floor rotunda of the Illinois State Capitol on Friday afternoon, June 26. Governor William G. Stratton delivered the principal address and Richard J. Barr, Jr., represented the family. Walker Butler, president pro tem of the Senate, presided.

Senator Barr represented the forty-first district, Will and DuPage counties, continuously from 1902 until his death in 1951 at the age of eighty-six. His forty-eight years of service are considered a record for the country's legislators.

The life-size statue was modeled by Sculptor Trygve A. Rovelstad of Elgin, a student of Lorado Taft. After conferences with the Barr family it was decided to portray the Senator at the prime of his career, in the characteristic pose he adopted during debate. He is shown standing with his feet slightly apart, his left hand at his side and his right hand raised with the thumb hooked in the lapel of his double-breasted suit.

The statue was unveiled by two grandsons of the Senator, Geoffrey Barr West, five, and Richard Barr West, seven, who attended with their parents, Alfred C. and Bunny Barr West, of Dallas, Texas. The Senator's second son, William G. Barr of Washington, D. C.; Mrs. Fannie McMillen, sister; Miss Mary K. Brolly and Mrs. A. C. Drach, nieces; and Newell Barr, Lloyd G. Jones and James W. Barr, nephews, also attended. Among the eight hundred spectators were members of the legislature and 125 visitors from Joliet.

Members of the arrangements committee were: Governor Stratton, chairman; Senators Butler, Arthur J. Bidwell, R. G. Crisenberry, Roland V. Libonati, William J. Lynch, Lottie Holman O'Neill and Everett R. Peters; Speaker of the House Warren L. Wood, and Representatives Reed F. Cutler, J. Harold Downey, Frank Holten, David Hunter, John M. King and George G. Noonan.



DEDICATION OF BARR STATUE

Members of the immediate family of the late Senator Richard J. Barr of Joliet are shown in front of his statue at the dedication on June 26. Left to right are: Alfred C. West; Mrs. West, the former Bunny Barr; William G. Barr and Richard J. Barr, Jr. In front of them are Geoffrey Barr West, five, and Richard Barr West, seven, who unveiled the statue.

NEW JUNIOR HISTORIAN DIRECTOR

Elwin W. Sigmund has joined the staff of the Illinois State Historical Library as director of the Illinois Junior Historian program. He succeeds Dr. Donald F. Tingley who has accepted a position as director of social studies in the College High School at Eastern Illinois State College, Charleston. Sigmund has completed his residence requirements for his Ph.D. in history at the University of Illinois.

With the October issue of the *Illinois Junior Historian* magazine the program, which is sponsored by the Illinois State Historical Society, will begin its seventh year. It has enjoyed a steady growth since its inception and now reaches approximately 4,300 pupils in more than 200 schools throughout the state.

LETTERS OF THE WAR OF 1812

Forty-eight letters of Colonel Henry S. Dodge, written in 1812-1813, have been received by the Illinois State Historical Society from the estate of his great-granddaughter, Mrs. Elizabeth Raymond Woodward of Evanston. Mrs. Woodward was a daughter of Mary Stuart Raymond, a granddaughter of Benjamin S. and Jane Dey Dodge Edwards, and a great-granddaughter of Ninian Edwards, third governor of Illinois.

The letters were written by Colonel Dodge to his fiancée, Jane Dey Varick, then living at Hackensack, New Jersey. She was the daughter of Dr. John Varick of New York City. The earliest eighteen letters were from New York City where Dodge, after graduating from Columbia University, studied law in the office of Richard Varick, Jane's uncle. The next six were written while the Colonel was en route from New York to Sackett's Harbor at the eastern end of Lake Ontario. Then follow nineteen letters from the Harbor, where he served as aide-de-camp to his uncle, Brigadier General Richard Dodge of the New York Militia, September to November, 1812. He returned to his law practice in December; the last five letters, written between February and July, 1813, were from New York.

Colonel Dodge's letters, written in a fine "copybook" hand, are from four to twelve pages in length. Most interesting are his descriptions of the upstate New York sections to which he made several side trips.

Henry S. Dodge was a son of Samuel S. Dodge and Margaretta Van Wyck Dodge. His father was an officer in the Revolutionary War and one of the founders of the Order of the Cincinnati.

Colonel Dodge and Miss Varick were married in 1813 and moved to

Kaskaskia, Illinois Territory, in 1817, stopping in Cincinnati with Nicholas Longworth for two weeks. Their eldest son, John Varick, was born in New York, and their other children, Henry Augustus, Richard Varick and Helen Kissam, were born in Kaskaskia. In 1824 the family returned to New York where Dodge continued his law practice until his death in 1827. The family remained in New York until 1834 when they moved to New Haven, Connecticut, so that John and Richard could attend Yale. Another student at the University was Benjamin S. Edwards whom Helen Dodge married on August 13, 1839. The young couple came to Springfield in January, 1840, and for a short time stayed at the home of Ninian W. Edwards, Benjamin's brother, where Mary Todd, the sister of Mrs. Edwards, also resided. They were guests at the wedding of Mary Todd and Abraham Lincoln on November 4, 1842. Colonel Dodge's widow moved to Springfield where she maintained her residence until her death in 1876.

In addition to the letters the Historical Society received a miniature painting of Colonel Dodge in his War of 1812 uniform. There were also photographs of oil paintings of Governor Ninian Edwards and of his parents, Benjamin and Margaret Beall Edwards.

ADDITION TO CREVE COEUR STATE PARK

The purchase by the state of 75.3 acres of land adjacent to Creve Coeur State Park was announced this summer. Acquisition of this land will make possible a beautiful recreation area to supplement the present memorial. Next spring will see the start of improvements on the recently added acreage. For many years civic and historical groups in the Pekin area have urged the acquisition of this property. Some 300,000 central Illinois residents will benefit from a recreation spot at Creve Coeur State Park.

ACTIVITIES OF LOCAL HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

Officers of the Bureau County Historical Society chosen at the annual meeting in June are: Frank Grisell, president; Mrs. E. D. Whitney, vice-president; Mrs. C. G. Heck, secretary; and Roger Eickmeier, treasurer. Directors include: Mrs. John W. Bailey, Mrs. H. P. Grove, Mrs. Ina Hoover, Harvey Trimble, Fred Russell and Frank Herbolsheimer.

At this meeting Mrs. E. M. Conway read several letters from William Cullen Bryant and his brothers Arthur, Cyrus and John, to their mother Sarah Snell Bryant.

The West Side (Chicago) Historical Society held a tour on June 14 of the Haeger Pottery plant at Dundee, Pottawatomie Park at St. Charles, and the Morton Arboretum near Lisle.

The Galena Historical Museum held an open house on July 6 from 7:00 to 10:00 P.M. The museum directors hoped that this would stimulate interest in the project locally. The fourth annual tour of historic Galena homes was scheduled for September 26 and 27.

The La Salle County Historical Society met on May 17 in the new historical room of the Peru Public Library. A special exhibit had been prepared by Dorothy Bieneman, the librarian. Charles W. Helmig spoke on the "Early History of Peru." Plans were also approved for marking the site of the La Salle County School (in Ottawa) taught in 1828 by Horace Sprague. Sprague later went west and became an elder in the Mormon church.

The June meeting of the Rock Island County Historical Society was held at the Rock Island Arsenal on June 4. Following a tour of the Arsenal Museum, dinner was served at 6:30. Lieutenant James Barclay, recently returned from the Korean conflict, told of his experiences and showed moving pictures. E. Lee Siemon gave an eyewitness account of the atomic bomb explosion which he experienced in Nevada early this year.

The Rockton Historical Society made a trip to Janesville, Wisconsin, on July 12 to visit the historic Tallman House. Lincoln spent two nights, October 1 and 2, 1859, at the home of William H. Tallman in Janesville.

Members of the Saline County Historical Society were invited by the Hardin County Historical Society to a meeting at Cave-in-Rock State Park on July 15. Earlier in July the group made a trip to New Harmony with the Edwards County Historical Society.

The Southern Illinois Historical Society held its Spring meeting at Marion on May 22. The program began with a dinner in the First Christian Church. Dr. E. E. Stibitz reviewed the book *Nancy Hanks Lincoln* by Dr. and

Mrs. Harold E. Briggs. Paul A. Frick spoke on "Early Days in Marion and Vicinity."

Officers of the Society elected at this meeting include: William H. Farley, president; Mrs. L. O. Trigg, vice-president; and Will S. Burkhart, secretary-treasurer. Three directors were chosen: C. C. Kerr, J. Lester Buford and Mrs. Trigg.

The new president announced an interesting summer schedule for the



HOME OF THE CAIRO HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

"Magnolia Manor" is the name given to this historic fourteen-room mansion which was acquired last year by the Cairo Historical Association. The house was built in 1869-1872 by Charles A. Galigher. Ex-President and Mrs. Ulysses S. Grant were entertained here for two days in 1880 following their world tour. Among the architectural features of the house are the double brick walls with a ten-inch air space between them to keep out the dampness, the iron grillwork on the big front and back porches, the marble fireplaces in nearly all the rooms, and the two marble columns in the living room. One of the rooms has been converted into a museum. The Association and various civic groups use the Manor for their meetings.

group: a tour of historic points in and around New Harmony in conjunction with the Edwards County Historical Society; a trip to Cave-in-Rock State Park under the sponsorship of the Hardin County Historical Society; a trip to Stonefort under the auspices of the Saline County Historical Society; and the annual Ozark Tour.

The Wayne County Historical Society was organized this past summer. T. H. Marshall was elected temporary chairman and T. O. Mathews, temporary secretary. The Society was organized at a public meeting held in the courthouse at Fairfield.

The fifth annual report of the Wilmette Historical Commission records a year of activity. Ten meetings were held and a number of projects completed for the celebration of Charter Day: a map of old Wilmette, a catalog of paintings, water colors and lithographs owned by the Commission, and a series of exhibit books. The museum has been opened the first Sunday afternoon of each month and on other occasions at the request of groups. Additional gifts of historical value have been received for the museum, and one of the projects started this year has been the cataloging of all material on hand with the name of the donor. *Wilmette Life* has kept the Commission's plans and activities before the public.

Members of the Commission include: Horace Holley, chairman; Bailey W. Shearer, vice-chairman; Mrs. Eli W. Garrison, secretary; Charles C. Henderson, treasurer; F. Dewey Anderson, Mrs. Tracy E. Johntz, Mrs. Howard C. Reeder, Rebecca Fitch and Margaret Nanzig.

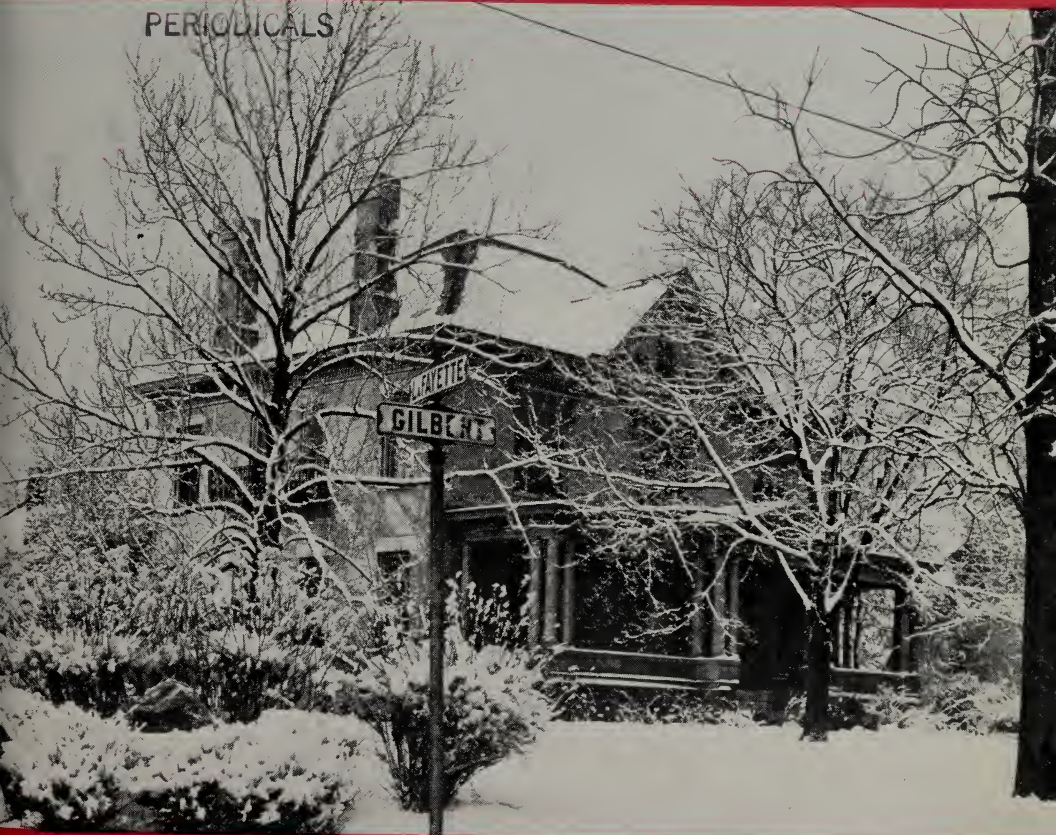
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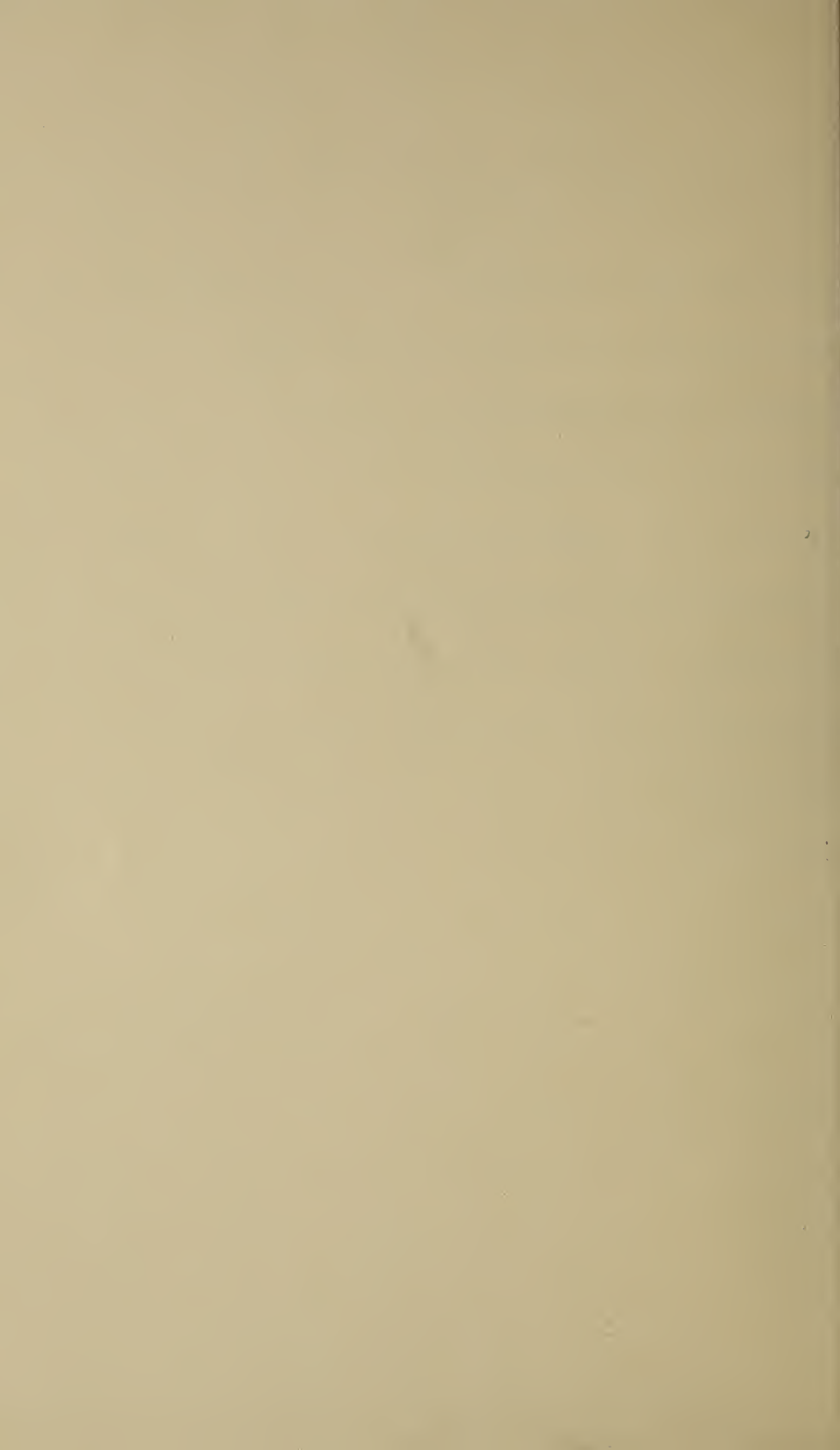
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JOHN KINZIE'S NARRATIVE OF THE FORT DEARBORN MASSACRE

BY MENTOR L. WILLIAMS

AT SUNSET, August 28, 1820, a canoe, bearing Dr. Alexander Wolcott, Lieutenant Aeneas Mackay, Captain David Bates Douglass, and a full complement of singing French Canadian voyageurs, was paddled into the mouth of the Chicago River. Its occupants "received from Mr. Kinsey all the comfortable attentions, which could do away the impression of fatigue."¹ The next morning, at five o'clock, a second canoe with Governor Lewis Cass, Major Robert Forsyth, Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, and the remainder of the voyageurs landed at Chicago, a village "of ten or twelve dwelling houses, with an aggregate population, of probably, sixty souls."² After three months of traveling, the party of explorers was glad to be able to see the last lap of its journey ahead.

Governor Cass, with the sanction of Secretary of War John C. Calhoun, had organized an expedition at Detroit to

¹ Henry R. Schoolcraft, *Narrative Journal of Travels*, Mentor L. Williams, ed. (East Lansing, Mich., 1953), 382. Aug. 28 entry of David B. Douglass in his "Journal."

² *Ibid.*, 250.

Mentor L. Williams is an associate professor of English at Illinois Institute of Technology, Chicago. In addition to editing Schoolcraft's *Narrative Journal of Travels* . . . he has written numerous articles for historical magazines, including "A Tour of Illinois in 1842" in the September, 1949 issue of this Journal. He was a Fulbright lecturer at the University of Sydney, Australia in 1952. "Kinzie's Narrative" was first published in the Chicago Tribune of August 15, 1953, the one hundred forty-first anniversary of the massacre.

explore the unknown regions of Lake Superior and the upper Mississippi in order "to survey the topography of the country, and collect the materials for an accurate map—to locate the site of a garrison at the foot of Lake Superior, and to purchase the ground—to investigate the subject of the northwestern copper mines, lead mines, and gypsum quarries."³ With a military escort, a party of Indians, and three official explorers (James Duane Doty, Alexander Chase and Charles C. Trowbridge) in addition to those listed above, the group had coasted along the western shoreline of Lake Huron and the southern shore of Lake Superior, portaged across the hills separating the Superior watershed from the Mississippi watershed, paddled up the Great River as far as Cass Lake, followed it downstream to the mouth of the Wisconsin, gone up the Wisconsin and down the Fox to Fort Howard at Green Bay. There the soldiers joined their military units, the Indians were dismissed, and Doty, Chase and Trowbridge were dispatched around the northern rim of Lake Michigan to complete that portion of the regional survey. At Chicago the party was again broken up. Dr. Wolcott, sub-Indian agent at Chicago, remained at his post; Cass, Forsyth and Mackay, accompanied by John Kinzie, set out overland for Detroit; Schoolcraft and Douglass undertook a survey of the eastern shoreline of Lake Michigan. It was, on the whole, a remarkable expedition since it provided Americans with their first reliable representation of the northwestern sector of the old Northwest Territory.

Members of the expedition were acquainted with John Kinzie, the trader at this remote outpost on "Onion Creek," who for several years had acted as Indian agent under Governor Cass. His St. Joseph trading post, as well as his interests at Green Bay, came under the direct supervision of the Michigan Territory governor. Dr. Wolcott was a close friend of the Kinzies; a few years later he married Kinzie's daughter Ellen, and his niece Juliette Magill married Kinzie's son John

³ *Ibid.*, 31.

Harris Kinzie. Young John was working at Mackinac for the American Fur Company in 1820, and rumor has it that he accompanied the expedition as far as Sault Ste. Marie. Major Forsyth was a nephew of John Kinzie, his father and Kinzie being half-brothers; and Forsyth's uncle, Thomas Forsyth of Peoria, was a trading partner of Kinzie.⁴ It would have been strange had the "outside" members of the expedition—Douglass and Schoolcraft—failed to solicit from eyewitness John Kinzie the story of the Chicago massacre, only eight years past. The others had already heard it, perhaps many times.

So far as historians have been able to learn, Schoolcraft was the only person to record any part of Kinzie's account of the dreadful slaughter of August 15, 1812. Kinzie had died (1828) before his son John Harris Kinzie married Juliette Magill (1830). Consequently, Juliette Kinzie's story in *Wau-Bun* was drawn from the memories of her husband (nine years old at the time of the massacre), of her mother-in-law (the senior Mrs. Kinzie), and of her sister-in-law Margaret McKillip (stepdaughter of John Kinzie and wife of Lieutenant Linai T. Helm). In the intervening years those memories had succumbed to the erosions and accretions of time. By 1844, when Chapters 18-20 of *Wau-Bun* were first published, the family legend had acquired the personal biases of those who had special viewpoints to present.

Schoolcraft devoted approximately four pages to the Dearborn massacre in his *Narrative Journal* of the Cass expedition. This account, published in 1821, was taken "from the description given by an eye-witness, Mr. Kinsey of Chicago, and from Captain [Nathan] Heald's official report."⁵ Schoolcraft could have added Robert B. McAfee's *History of the Late War* (1816), based on Captain Heald's report and on the story of a survivor of the battle, William Griffith, who lived to serve with McAfee in Colonel Richard M. Johnson's regiment in

⁴ Biographical data is chiefly from Milo M. Quaife's introduction to Mrs. John H. Kinzie, *Wau-Bun* (Chicago, 1932), and Quaife, *Checagou* (Chicago, 1933), Chap. VI.

⁵ Schoolcraft, *Narrative Journal*, 258.

the latter part of the War of 1812. Schoolcraft's version contains many of the prejudices against Heald that were to appear later in Helm's story and in *Wau-Bun*. These, more than likely, he got either from his meeting with Kinzie or from the prevailing attitudes of the time: General William Hull had "sacrificed" Detroit; under his orders Heald had "committed" the same "blunders" at Fort Dearborn. Both were locally tarred with the same brush.

Other firsthand reports of the events of August 15, 1812, include Captain Heald's official letter to Adjutant General Thomas H. Cushing, October 23, 1812, and Lieutenant Helm's 1814-1815 account written for Judge Augustus B. Woodward of Detroit. Heald's letter is factual and uncolored by any personal motives; Helm's description deliberately accuses Heald of blunders in judgment and stupidity in maneuvers. Helm's bias, as reported by Mrs. Helm, formed the source of the belittling of Heald by subsequent historians and fiction writers. Years later Mrs. Heald, defending her husband, passed on her version of the fatal day to her son, who in turn repeated it to Lyman Draper, the Wisconsin historian. These reports, as well as those of other survivors, usually at second or third hand, were carefully recorded and analyzed by Milo M. Quaife in *Chicago and the Old Northwest*.⁶

A statement of the "facts" from John Kinzie would have been a most valuable document in separating fiction and prejudice from reality. Although too deeply involved in the decisions to evacuate the fort and in the details of the withdrawal to be completely impersonal, Kinzie's firsthand story, as a noncombatant, would have provided details to balance the fiction of *Wau-Bun* and the venom of Helm against Heald's military report. Fortunately, such a statement is now available. Captain David Bates Douglass, upon hearing Kinzie's story, recorded it in his journal of the 1820 expedition.

⁶ Milo M. Quaife, *Chicago and the Old Northwest* (Chicago, 1913), Chaps. X, XI; Appendices II, IV, VI.

Douglass, the official topographer, intended to prepare a map of the territory covered by the expedition and to introduce it with a "memoir" written by himself and Schoolcraft. He was Schoolcraft's senior by several years and a person of consequence. A professor at the military academy at West Point, on assignment to Governor Cass for the expedition, he rightfully assumed that his plans should be given priority. Schoolcraft, however, jumped the gun and published his own narrative before Douglass could complete the map. Other interferences prevented Douglass from finishing his task. The result was that his daily records (six leather-bound five by eight-inch topographical notebooks and eleven four by six-inch paper-back diaries) were relegated to the oblivion of attic and basement, until the present writer unearthed them while preparing a new edition of Schoolcraft's *Narrative Journal* for publication. At the point of the Chicago entries, clearly labeled "Mr. Kinseys narrative of the Massacre," occurs the near-verbatim story which is reproduced here. I am indebted to the gracious co-operation of the daughters of the late Moses H. Douglass, grandson of Captain Douglass, of Newton Highlands, Massachusetts, for permission to print this most significant document.

MR. KINSEYS NARRATIVE OF THE MASSACRE

On the [9] Augt. 1812 an express a Potawatomie Indian [Winnemac] came there with orders to Capt. Hill [Heald]⁷ comdg., to evacuate the Fort if possible—the messenger expressed his doubts of the practicability of doing so unless the troupes moved off immediately say the next morning & that by a by rout as the Wabash Potawatamies were disaffected particularly those of Magoquous Villages⁸ and would undoubtedly stop them—

⁷ Under certain lingual and aural circumstances "Heald" might, to a person unfamiliar with the name, sound like "Heal," therefore "Hill."

⁸ At the treaty signing in 1821 at Chicago the Potawatomi, Monguago, was granted a half-section of land at Mish-she-wa-ko-kind, now Mishawaka, Indiana. It is not to be confused with Mongaugon on the Maumee River or with Magauga on the Detroit.

Capt. Hill however somewhat distrustful of the Indian & expecting Capt Wells with some Miamies did not adopt the advice—the Indian then pressed him through me & I also joined in it to go the following day—which he also declined & he was then told he might stay as long as he pleased & with this his adviser left him—by this time the Potawatomies began to come in the idea of evacuation was known generally & talked of; they professed friendship & gave assurances that they would conduct the troops safely thro but it was always observed that they all came in hostile array. In the course of the Councils which were held about this time Capt. Hill showed the Indians the Arms, Ammunition goods &c. which were to be given to them for their safe conduct. Things were in this state when Capt. Wells arrived with 27 Miamies about the time that Capt. Hill had determined upon evacuating—Capt. W & self advised against it as we had in the fort a sufficiency of Arms Ammunition &c to have sustained the attacks of the Indians even tho' assisted by the British. It was however determined [that the fort be abandoned]—I then advised & Capt W. agreed with me that the ammunition & liquor ought to be destroyed as the latter would only inflame them & the former would undoubtedly be used in acts of hostility against our people if not against ourselves—to this there was no other objection than Capt. H. having already shown it to them—but he acknowledged the propriety of the step & freely agreed to adopt any measure I might suggest for justifying him in sight of the Indians for taking it. Strategem was accordingly resorted to & the business of destruction was immediately commenced. it was intended to throw the powder in the river but that was prevented by an accident. As I passed out of the Fort at Dusk to wash at the River two Indians seized hold of me but perceiving who I was they desisted from using violence—their curiosity had been excited by the hammering and bustle in the fort & they desired to know what was going on. I told them we had been opening barrels of pork & flour & were preparing to march next day—this satisfied them for the present but I perceived they were on the alert & it would be unsafe to attempt throwing the powder in the River, so it was thrown in the well. On the morrow we marched by the rout of the

beach. When we reached the Sand Hillocks beyond those pines (about 2 miles) along shore,⁹ Capt. Wells who was behind came round in front & spoke to me observing that we were surrounded. this I had also perceived having seen the Indian Rifles passing round our right as if forming a line to hem us in. He asked what was best to be done. I said we must make the best defence we were able & this was agreed to—the men were faced towards the land and advanced in line up the bank as they rose the Indians fired their first volley several fell but the soldiers still preserved their order & pressed upon the Indians into the prairie—in the course of the battle several desperate encounters took place Ensign Rowman [Ronan] fought until struck down the 3d time rising each time until he received the fatal blow of a tomahawk which felled him to rise no more

A sergeant [Otho Hays] pressed upon a strong Indian [Naunongee] with his bayonet & wounded him in the breast—he endeavoring to parry & to strike with his tomahawk, the Sergt did not kill him but recovered & passed his bayonet thro his body & in this situation he yet cut down his antagonist with his Tomahawk. Capt. Wells Dr. Van Voorhees [Voorhis] were killed as also 28 out of the 56 men & Capt. Hill badly wounded when the remainder cut their way into the prairie—mean time others [Indians] had passed round the beach & got among the baggage where the women & children were & here was perpetrated one of the most shocking scenes of Butchery perhaps ever witnessed—their shrieks of distress, their piteous appeals to father mother Brothers & Husbands for help & their prayers for mercy were there unheard & disavailing—the Tomahawk & knife performed their work without distinctions of age or condition. This scene of Havoc lasted for near ten minutes. In the early part of the affray I had charge of Mrs. K. who was in my boat—Mrs. Hill [Heald] & my daughter [Mrs. Helm] who were near me. Mrs. H. however in her terror soon left me & fled to her Uncle Capt. Wells by whose side she received several shot wounds. When the Indians got round to the Baggage some scuffling took place among some of them which I afterwards learned was about killing me an order

⁹ From this and similar evidence it is clear that Kinzie told his story by daylight and was pointing out distinctive landmarks.

however was given out among the Indians that they should neither hurt me or my family. Capt Wells hearing this requested his neice to return to me but she still clung to him.

A Potawatamie [Black Partridge] now came forward & after taking my gun offered to take us to a place of safety but my daughter thinking his intentions hostile ran at first into the Lake but soon returned. I motioned to him to bring Mrs. Hill to us which he did & then conducted us up to that turn of the river above the Ft.

The Potawatamies by this time sent a messenger [Le Claire] to Capt. Hill demanding his surrender—upon what terms asked Capt. Hill. the messenger did not know but being a man whom I had brought up & friendly to the Amerns. he advised the Capt. not to surrender until they should propose some terms—the Capt. accordingly refused to surrender unless they would give pledge for the lives of the prisoners—this they agreed to with the exception of those who were mortally wounded & the remaining 28 men some of them badly wounded were surrendered accordingly—one man [Thomas Burns] whose wounds appeared mortal was Tomahawked by a squaw. Three were killed by a volley fired among a group in consequence of one of them having drawn his knife as if to defend himself mistaking their intentions when the Indians fired their pieces after the fight in honor of the dead. Several others were dispatched under various pretenses during the afternoon & evening so that probably not more than ten or 12 ultimately escaped the Massacre. After all was over the Indians councild among themselves about the disposal of the prisoners. I was allowed with my family & Mrs. H. to return to my house. the remaining soldiers were distributed among the different chiefs & there only remained Capt. H. to be disposed of—a subject which caused them some discussion. They were inclined to take his life & indeed were emulous among themselves of dispatching him as being the Chief on our side.* They complained moreover in a council of his having de-

* After the battle an Indian took me to see the Capt. He inquired anxiously after his wife & was much relieved by my account of her wounds—said he apprehended danger from the Indians—they having stripped him & wished me to devise some way of securing the money he had about him. I accordingly lent him my coat and after sufficient time for him to put the money in the pockets I took it back. [Footnote in original.]

ceived them by destroying the Arms &c which he [had] shown to be delivered out to them—& they had heard that he had poisoned the flour. I answered them in his behalf by showing an order for this destruction & explained to them the obligations of our officers to obey the order of a superior—which they conceived of. I denied the adulteration of the flour & offered to eat of it—indeed it wanted but little to convince them that the bearer of this story was a great liar. They acknowledged having deceived us & asked Capt. H. if he thought the prest. of the U.S. would forgive them. It was difficult to say—they knew from past events the pacific disposition of the prest. but if they wished to ask forgiveness I would exchange hostages, take some of their principal men & go with them for that purpose—they asked Capt. H. his opinion of the probable continuance & result of our war to which he gave a suitable reply. In this state things remained with much anxiety for him on our part when a well disposed Indian advised me to get him away or he would be killed. I then got a faithful fellow [Chandonnai] to take Mrs & Capt Hill to St. Joseph in his canoe which he did though pursued 15 miles by some of them—& [Alexander] Robinson the present interpreter took them thence to Mackinaw.

Some days after 10 or 12 indians painted black & armed came across the river to my house & anticipating their demand I warned Mrs. K against the event & enjoined her to meet it with courage they came & declared their intentions of taking satisfaction of me for Hills escape. 5 Potawatie. Chiefs in the house interceded with them & they were quieted finally with presents. I was allowed to remove to the little Colic. and went.¹⁰ The treatment of the dead was characteristic—Capt. W. & Dr. V. V. Name of the chief who commanded Black B[ird]. reason of his kindness to me—his son.¹¹ Capt. Wells rec'd information the night before we marched that we should be attacked but we had then given everything away and could not retract. The Chiefs after we determined to evacuate used to eat with us

¹⁰ What Douglass thought Kinzie said seems to be a mystery. Had Kinzie had a station on the Little Konomick (Schoolcraft) or Little Konomee (Douglass), one might think the reference was to the Little Calumet. Actually, Kinzie went to St. Joseph.

¹¹ The story behind this cryptic remark also seems to be unsolved.

every day as we had a superabundance of provision to make away with. Nuscotnoning [Nuscotnemeg] was the author of the massacre. The Black Bird commanded—the Miamies knowing of the attack stayed behind & took no part—they rode past in the beginning of the foray & one a half Potawatomie made a short speech—to this effect—Potawatomie I am much astonished at your conduct—You have been treacherous with these people you promised to conduct them safely thro. You have deceived them and are about to murder them in cold blood—let me advise you to beware—you know not what evil the dead shall bring upon you—you may by and bye hear your wives & children cry & you will not be able to assist them. Potawatomie beware—so saying he rode on.

COMMENTARY

Some important verifications, variations and addenda about the massacre and its eyewitnesses can be gleaned from Douglass' transcription of Kinzie's story. Remembering that only eight years had elapsed since the event, it is worth noting that there are many points of agreement between the story told by Kinzie and those told by his son-in-law (Helm) in 1815, and by his daughter-in-law (Mrs. Juliette Kinzie) in 1844.

Heald's orders from Hull were to evacuate the fort, destroy the arms and ammunition, and distribute the factory goods among friendly Indians who might thus be persuaded to help escort the evacuees to Fort Wayne. In his report to General Cushing, Heald wrote that his orders were to evacuate the post, to go to Detroit by land, and "at my discretion to dispose of the public property as I thought proper." Whether Heald misread Hull's orders or disobeyed them, his interpretation of them may have caused dissension among the principals involved in the evacuation.

Helm's narrative stated that the destination of the garrison was either Detroit or Fort Wayne. Mrs. Kinzie mentioned only Fort Wayne; John Kinzie does not indicate the destina-

tion, but his mention of Monguago's villages suggests that he had the Fort Wayne route in mind. Both Helm and Mrs. Kinzie declared that the order was to evacuate the fort "if practicable." John Kinzie said the order was to evacuate the fort "if possible." The modifying phrase, of course, made Heald appear intractable, when he was really obeying his superior. Winnemac, the messenger, urged that the garrison leave the fort at once and proceed by an unusual route to Fort Wayne—according to Helm and Mrs. Kinzie. Kinzie corroborates this and gives a specific reason for Winnemac's suggestion: the disaffection of the Wabash Potawatomi.

It is also significant that Kinzie's account agrees with Heald's in an important particular. Both men asserted that the Indians knew of the plan for evacuation of the fort as soon as the officers of the garrison, Kinzie even saying that the knowledge, presumably given out by the messenger, had brought the outlying Indians to the fort. Mrs. Kinzie, however, stated that Heald refused to leave until "he had collected the Indians of the neighborhood." Kinzie's parallel testimony proves that Heald was not willing to take the risk of running head-on into bands of Indians before their feelings and temper could be ascertained through councils.

Helm implied that when Captain Wells arrived and took stock of the provisions for withstanding a siege he thought it foolish to leave the fort. Mrs. Kinzie stated flatly that the junior officers argued with Heald on this point; they wished to stay at the post. Heald's reply was to cite his orders. Thereafter the junior officers kept aloof, she said. Kinzie also says that he and Wells advised Heald to remain in the fort because of the adequacy of supplies, but he makes no reference to any quarrels between Heald and his staff. Neither Heald nor Griffith mentioned any friction in the garrison force; Schoolcraft did.

Kinzie says that Heald showed the arms, ammunition and stores to the Indians and told them all was to be divided

among them "for their safe conduct." Helm and Mrs. Kinzie asserted that Heald insisted his orders were "to deliver up all public property" to the Indians. Although Hull's order categorically eliminated any such interpretation, it is obvious from Heald's own report that he felt he had discretionary authority where government property was concerned. It was Heald's interpretation of his orders that leads the analyst to believe that the reports of Mrs. Kinzie and Helm may be accurate in this circumstance, especially as they are substantiated by John Kinzie.

According to Mrs. Kinzie a council was held with the Indians on August 12 which only Heald and Kinzie attended, the other officers declining to go for fear of a trap. At this meeting, she said, Heald proposed to distribute the goods and arms the next day if the Potawatomi would provide an escort. Helm, who asserted that Wells arrived at Fort Dearborn on August 12, described a council between Wells and five hundred warriors on that date. At its conclusion Wells declared the Indians were hostile and likely to interrupt the evacuation march. Kinzie's narrative mentions "Councils which were held about this time" at which Heald exhibited the arms and supplies that would be given the Indians for safe conduct. But he specifically sets the time of these councils: before the arrival of Wells. He does not refer to trouble between Heald and his officers, but he does remark that the Indians always arrived in "hostile array." In other words, Kinzie partially verifies the stories of Helm and Mrs. Kinzie.

After Wells arrived and after it was settled that the fort was to be abandoned, the all-important question arose: what to do with the military equipment and liquor? Heald stated simply that he destroyed the surplus arms and ammunition and the liquor. Was it as simple as that? Mrs. Kinzie said that trader Kinzie remonstrated with Heald on the folly of giving any arms to the savages, and won Heald over to his view. She lamented, however, that this decision was reached and

executed before Wells appeared, and she implied that Wells would have urged a sit-tight policy had the arms not been destroyed and the provisions distributed. Helm's tale was more detailed, though it contradicted vital parts of Mrs. Kinzie's story: Kinzie and Helm urged Wells to speak to Heald about the munitions; Wells agreed only if the others would go with him. The three pleaded with the captain to dispose of the powder, lead and arms. Heald objected on the grounds that he had orders "to deliver up to those Indians all the public property of whatsoever nature," and that it was unwise to tell lies to the Indians. They would be irritated. Then, added Helm, Kinzie volunteered to take all responsibility in the matter and quieted Heald's scruples by forging an order from Hull instructing the commanding officer to destroy the arms and ammunition. There was no mention of liquor by Helm. Kinzie says that he and Wells advised the destruction of both ammunition and liquor. Heald's *only* objection was that the supplies had already been shown the Indians. Heald, says Kinzie, "freely agreed" to adopt whatever measure would justify him in the eyes of the Indians. "Strategem was accordingly resorted to." Later in Kinzie's account it develops that the strategy was an "order" for "destruction" of the munitions. The "order" was not used, however, until after the massacre.¹²

What became of the arms, ammunition and liquor? From Mrs. Kinzie: surplus muskets (broken up), shot, flints, gun-screws, and part of the powder and liquor were thrown into the garrison well; the rest of the powder and liquor was thrown into the river. The noise from knocking in the barrel heads aroused the suspicions of the Indians, some of whom "crept . . . near the scene of action," and the river water, even the following morning, tasted like "strong grog." This violation of Heald's promise inflamed the hostility of the savages

¹² There was no necessity for a forgery; Hull's order specifically required Heald to destroy the arms and ammunition.

to the point of revengeful threats. At a council held with the Indians the day after the destruction of the stores, the chiefs "expressed great indignation at the loss"—so said Mrs. Kinzie.¹³ Helm made no comment on these subjects. John Kinzie attaches the Indian suspicions directly to himself. At dusk, while going from the fort to the river to wash, he was seized by two Indians whose "curiosity had been excited" by the bustle inside the fort. Kinzie's misleading answer satisfied them for the moment, but it was apparent that the powder could not be thrown into the river. It was, instead, dumped into the well. Kinzie says nothing about the liquor; much of it was his, and his decline in prosperity dated from this loss.

There has always been disagreement about the dates and figures involved in the massacre story. Helm and William Griffith claimed that Wells arrived at Fort Dearborn on August 12. Mrs. Kinzie said he came on August 14. Heald put his arrival on August 13, the correct date. Kinzie does not specify a time in the Douglass transcription, but in Schoolcraft's account Wells is said to have appeared on the thirteenth. Whether Schoolcraft was remembering Kinzie or quoting Heald cannot be determined: probably he was quoting Heald, since he also used Heald's figure of thirty for the number of friendly Miamis accompanying Wells. Kinzie and Helm said twenty-seven Miamis were in the party; Griffith, who is quite inaccurate in all phases of the account, put the number at fifty; and Mrs. Kinzie specified fifteen. Both Helm and Mrs. Kinzie said the destruction of stores took place on the thirteenth, two days before the evacuation. Kinzie substantiates Heald's time—the evening of the fourteenth—in two places: "preparing to march next day" and "on the morrow we marched." Thus Kinzie twice refutes Mrs. Kinzie's contention that Wells reached the fort after the disposal of the arms and provisions.

¹³ Mrs. Kinzie, in her desire to discount Heald, may have erroneously fixed the time of the council as preceding the battle. See Kinzie's report of a similar council *after the surrender*.

Reports of incidents of the battle demonstrate the unreliability of eyewitness testimony. With part of the Miamis in the van and the rest in the rear under the leadership of Wells,¹⁴ the entire population of Chicago—fifty-four regulars, twelve militia, four officers, and eighteen women and children¹⁵—marched forth from the garrison at nine o'clock on the morning of August 15. About a mile and a half out, among the sand hills on the beach, the party was surrounded and attacked. In ten (Kinzie) or fifteen (Heald) minutes the slaughter was completed.

Who saw what? Who remembered accurately what he had seen? Mrs. Kinzie said Wells, with blackened face betokening his premonition of doom, took the lead.¹⁶ Heald and Kinzie stated that Wells was with the rear guard. Helm wrote that Wells informed them they were surrounded, but he made no reference to the location of the noted scout. Kinzie says that Wells "came round in front" to report that the Indians had surrounded them and asked "what was best to be done." A plan of defense was agreed upon and at once executed. The plan was to advance the men to the top of the lake bank (Kinzie and Heald concurred in their statements) and cut their way into the prairie (a charge). The Potawatomi killed and wounded several in their first volley as the soldiers came over the crest of the bank; the others were killed in hand-to-hand encounters like those in which Ensign Ronan and Sergeant Hays met their heroic deaths. Mrs. Helm did not give the details of Ronan's gallant struggle, and hers was a more sentimental tale of the Hays-Naunongee duel: Naunongee, she wrote, lived long enough to be carried to Calumet Village where he repented his act of ingratitude. Though

¹⁴ Kinzie said, apparently in answer to a query, that Wells and the Miamis knew that the attack was planned, but as everything had been given away or destroyed the evacuation had to be executed. "The Miamies knowing of the attack stayed behind."

¹⁵ The Kinzies were not included in the count. Kinzie and his son John marched with the advance guard; Mrs. Kinzie, the other children, and the servants were in a boat either at the mouth of the river or in the lake offshore.

¹⁶ Mrs. Heald said that Wells painted his face as a disguise.

Schoolcraft declared both "fell dead together," there is nothing to prove that Kinzie told him that. Schoolcraft, like Mrs. Kinzie, had an ear for a good yarn. Kinzie, on the other hand, says nothing about the craven fear of Dr. Van Voorhis so graphically "observed" by Mrs. Helm as she stood apart watching her husband and father.

While the battle was in progress the baggage train was attacked and the women and children massacred. Mrs. Heald and Mrs. Helm, when the massacre began, were with Kinzie. According to Kinzie, Mrs. Heald fled in terror to her uncle, Captain Wells, where she received her wounds, refusing to return to Kinzie (at her uncle's request¹⁷) when the Indians were instructed not to harm the Kinzie family. Mrs. Helm's lurid story of her salvation by Black Partridge was pure fabrication, if Kinzie is to be believed. Certainly, he would have given his explorer-hearers this tidbit had it actually occurred. All she did was run into the lake in fright and walk out again. She hardly left her father's side.

Kinzie gives no details of Wells' death. Schoolcraft said his heart was cut out and eaten; Kinzie, as recorded by Douglass, says: "The treatment of the dead was characteristic—Capt. W. & Dr. V. V." It is probable that Kinzie did tell this to Schoolcraft or Douglass. Schoolcraft also said that some of the soldiers' wives fought with swords. If he learned this from Kinzie, it substantiated Mrs. Helm's story of Mrs. Holt. Neither does Kinzie say anything about the mule and whisky ransom of Mrs. Heald. The Potawatomi from whom Mrs. Helm had fled into the lake brought Mrs. Heald, at Kinzie's instruction, to the Kinzie group and then escorted them all to "that turn of the river above the Ft."¹⁸

Heald and his band of survivors had got to a small eleva-

¹⁷ Darius Heald's recital of his mother's story agrees with this statement in most of its details. Mrs. Heald, however, said that her uncle told her that escape was hopeless, to die like a soldier.

¹⁸ Mrs. Heald's story agrees in the main with that of Mrs. Helm: that she had been ransomed with a mule and whisky. She also said that Chandonnai had been the means of her ransom. Kinzie's version is markedly different—and tame by comparison.

tion in the prairie out of range of the Indian guns. Helm, Griffith and Kinzie gave essentially the same account of the surrender. Kinzie cuts the glory from both, however: Griffith did not conduct the negotiations, nor did he persuade Heald to surrender; and Helm did not have a chance to play leader as his wife boasted. All the arrangements were made between Heald and Black Bird through the one intermediary, Le Claire. However, Kinzie, as did Mrs. Helm, insists that the surrender terms did not include the mortally wounded. One of the mortally wounded, Thomas Burns, said Kinzie and Helm, was tomahawked by a squaw—not stable-forked to death as Mrs. Helm reported.

After the surrender, the Kinzies were allowed to return to their house and to take Mrs. Heald with them. Kinzie does not mention any search for the captain's wife as she lay hidden in the boat, nor does he tell of taking a ball from her arm with his penknife.¹⁹ Kinzie was most helpful in arranging the escape of Heald. From his account it is clear that Heald was an unassigned prisoner, *i.e.*, no chief, no tribe had the privilege of killing him. Mrs. Helm's relation of his being released by his Kankakee captor in order that he might accompany Mrs. Heald to St. Joseph was probably embroidery on an already over-decorated tale. The role of Chandonnai, however, in escorting the Healds across the lake, is verified by the trader's statements.

During the days that followed the Healds' departure, the Kinzies were objects of suspicion. Black Partridge and four fellow Potawatomi stayed in the Kinzie house to protect the family. Mrs. Helm told how, the day after the battle, a party of Wabash Potawatomi, unfamiliar with the Kinzie reputation among the neighboring Indians, sent their hope for longevity plummeting. The presence of the five braves was not enough to ensure the safety of any Kinzie. Mrs. Helm was

¹⁹ As Heald was much relieved by Kinzie's account of Mrs. Heald's wounds, Kinzie must have had more than hearsay knowledge of them.

hidden under a featherbed in Ouilmette's house. Only the providential appearance of Billy Caldwell, said Mrs. Helm, stayed the Wabash tomahawks. John Kinzie blows the froth from this legend; it was several days after the battle, and the five Potawatomi chiefs and some presents saved the day nicely.

Finally, Kinzie's version of the reproach of the Potawatomi by the Miamis differs markedly from that of Mrs. Helm. She said the Miamis fled; Kinzie says they rode past the foray. Kinzie's half-Potawatomi gave a more characteristic Indian speech than Mrs. Helm's Miami chief. Kinzie also fails to corroborate the *Wau-Bun* legend of Black Partridge conscientiously giving up his American medal on the eve of the hostilities. As the trader makes other references to foreknowledge of the attack, it is unlikely that he would have overlooked this one in retelling the circumstances and incidents of the Fort Dearborn debacle.

So much for the correspondences and variations between Kinzie's narrative and those of Helm and Mrs. Kinzie. There are several other significant observations to be made about the Kinzie story. In the first place, Kinzie does not mention Helm at all in his account of the disaster. Had the family troubles that resulted in the Helms' divorce in 1829 already, in 1820, become a source of irritation? This may account, in part, for the absence of the anti-Heald bias so evident in the other reports. Kinzie never even hints that there was any friction between Heald and his subordinates; neither does he imply that Heald was a dunderhead. In fact, he seems to give Heald credit for common sense and strict sense of duty, although not always agreeing with his judgment.²⁰

Kinzie's account not only substantiates or denies elements in the existing stories; it also adds much that is new, that has never figured in any other report of the Fort Dearborn Mas-

²⁰ In the face of this, one wonders where Schoolcraft acquired his disapproval of Capt. Heald. Did Douglass soften Kinzie's remarks in transcription, or did Schoolcraft consult some other authority—perhaps Helm? Schoolcraft knew Judge Augustus B. Woodward of Detroit, and could have had Helm's story from him.

sacre. Of the new material some is supplemental to information already at hand, some wholly original. In the first category fall such items as the statement that Winnemac, after failing to persuade Heald, said "he might stay as long as he pleased" before abandoning the fort; the story of Kinzie leaving the fort to wash and being seized by two suspicious Indians; the information that the chiefs who were gathered about the fort ate with the garrison every day, so great was the quantity of provisions to be consumed; the assertion that Wells received warning of the proposed attack on the night of August 14; the account of Mrs. Heald's flight to Wells, her uncle, during the fight, and of her refusal to return to the Kinzie party; and the order by the Indians not to harm any members of the Kinzie family.

The original material in Kinzie's narrative is especially valuable. From it we learn that Mrs. Helm was neither attacked by one Indian nor saved by another; that three of the soldiers were shot, not tomahawked, as a result of their mistaking the purpose of a salute to the dead; that Black Bird showed kindness to Kinzie because the latter had done some good turn for Black Bird's son. Kinzie is the first to report the post-surrender councils—one held by the Indians to arrange the division of prisoners; another, attended by Kinzie and Heald, to discuss the latter's fate. At this council the Indians complained of being cheated out of the arms promised them by Heald and accused him of having poisoned the flour. The complaints were countered by Kinzie, who showed them the order to destroy the arms and offered to eat the flour. Then the Indians inquired about the chances of being forgiven by the president, and Kinzie offered to act with them if they wished to ask the president's pardon. Heald was asked about the probable outcome of the war and gave a "suitable reply."

In the Kinzie narrative we learn for the first time of the Indian plot to kill Heald. Mrs. Helm told a somewhat differ-

ent story of his being released by his captor in order to accompany his wife—an incredible example of Indian chivalry. Kinzie's story rings more true—especially as he adds a piece of supporting evidence, the pursuit of Chandonnai's canoe by disgruntled Indians for some fifteen miles.

Mrs. Heald had sewn several hundred dollars in paper money into a short inner jacket which the captain wore under his uniform. When Heald was stripped of his military clothes, he still had the funds on him. Kinzie's explanation of the ruse employed to secure the money gives us another glittering facet in an already many-faceted plot.

Even after a hundred and forty-one years, the story still grips the readers' attention. We can be grateful that Douglass, himself a veteran of the War of 1812, encouraged Kinzie to recount the tale, even though it has lain buried in ancestral files through the intervening years.

"HEALTHY HEART OF THE NATION"

"Illinois—Healthy Heart of the Nation" is the title of a forty-page article by Leo A. Borah in the December, 1953 issue of *The National Geographic Magazine*. Nearly three fourths of the space is taken up by thirty-six illustrations, twenty-eight

of them in color, including a beautiful double page aerial view of Cairo. Borah, an assistant editor of the magazine, gathered material for his fact-packed text on an 1,800-mile tour of the state which he made early last spring.

THE KU KLUX KLAN IN SOUTHERN ILLINOIS IN 1875

BY ANDY HALL, M. D.

WHEN the Ku Klux Klan was organized in southern Illinois in 1923 I created something of a commotion by writing an article for the newspapers about the disintegration of an earlier Klan in this section. Acute lead poisoning had overtaken a number of members of the original gang in 1875 and I suggested the same "remedy" for the then current epidemic of night riding.

At the time I wrote my newspaper article Klansmen were so numerous throughout the southern part of the state that few people dared to speak or write disparagingly about the organization for fear of a boycott in one form or another. Nor would many newspapers publish anything detrimental to the interests of the Klan. One exception was Edwin Rackaway, editor of the *Mt. Vernon Register-News*, who never missed an opportunity to tell the white-hooded hoodlums what he thought of them. Many other newspapers reprinted my story after he had taken the lead.

Dr. Andy Hall of Mt. Vernon was chosen the nation's "Outstanding General Practitioner of the Year" in 1949 by the American Medical Association. He is now eighty-eight years of age and has practiced his profession for more than sixty-three years. He is a former mayor of Mt. Vernon, served his country as a medical officer in three wars, and from 1929 to 1933 was director of the Illinois Department of Public Health. On June 10, 1950, he received the Northwestern University Alumni Award for distinguished services to his alma mater.

On the July afternoon that the article appeared squads of supposed Klansmen could be seen reading the paper and gesticulating and pointing toward my office. Many of them were predicting, so my friends told me, that I had ruined myself socially and financially and that I would certainly have to leave the county if I expected to continue the practice of medicine. I also received a number of anonymous letters criticizing my attitude toward the Klan and the Masons who were said to have united with the Klan in their earlier escapades.

Some of my critics said that my story about Klan activities in Franklin and Williamson counties in the decade after the Civil War was a pipe dream, that nothing of the kind had ever happened and that my article would be refuted in a few days. Of course it never was.

The Klan's defeat and downfall in 1875 resulted when a posse ambushed a gang of fourteen night riders at the farm of John B. Maddox in Franklin County.¹ I knew personally several members of the posse, my brother had lived at the Maddox home while teaching school in the neighborhood, and one of the Maddox daughters was my aunt by marriage. I had heard the story from several sources and knew what I was writing about. More recently I have come across a copy of *The History of Williamson County, Illinois* by Milo Erwin, an attorney, which was published at Marion in 1876, and also a scrapbook kept by W. S. Cantrell of Benton in which are pasted newspaper clippings of the time the raid took place. These publications confirm and expand the statements that I made about the Klan some thirty years ago.

The earliest mention of the Klan in the Franklin-Williamson section is contained in Erwin's history:

On the 15th day of April 1872, Isaac Vancil, the first white man born in this [Williamson] county, a man seventy-three years old, living on Big Muddy, was notified to leave the country or suffer death. He did not obey the order, and on the night of the 22d, ten men in disguise of Ku-Klux, rode up to his

¹ The Maddox farm was three or four miles northeast of West Frankfort.

house, took him out about a mile down the river bottom, and put a skinned pole in the forks of two saplings and hung him, and left him hanging. Next morning, when he was found, all around was still, blank and lifeless. . . . Vancil was an honest, hardworking man, but had some serious faults. Still, God gave an equal right to live and none the right to deal death and ruin in a land of peace. Soon after his death, eighteen men were arrested in Franklin county, charged with the murder; but were acquitted.²

There was an off-and-on continuance of Klan activity for the next two years and Erwin records some of it:

During the summer of 1874 there was an organization of fifteen men near Carrier's Mills, in Saline county, who extended their operations up into this [Williamson] county. They called themselves "Regulators," and dressed in disguise, and went around to set things in order. They did not injure any person, but simply notified those whom they thought out of the line of domestic duty, and even in financial affairs, to flank into line again. They generally gave the victim such a scare that he was willing to do anything to be in company by himself. Such a band is a disgrace to any civilized country; but no serious results or disparaging influence came from this one. . . .

There was probably an organization of a more serious character in this county. Several men were taken out and whipped, and some ten or fifteen notified to leave the county. This was during the years 1874-5.

On the night of the 23d of October, 1874, a party of twenty men in disguise visited the family of Henry D. Carter, in Northern Precinct [Thompsonville, Franklin County] and ordered him to leave the county within forty days, whereupon a fight took place, and twenty-two balls were lodged in his house. In a few days fifty-two men met in arms at the County Line Church, in daylight, and ordered six of the Carters to leave the county. Mr. Carter wrote their names to the Governor [Beveridge], imploring protection. The Governor wrote to [J. D. F.] Jennings [state's attorney of Williamson County] to enforce the law, and of course that ended it.³

The Carters must have given a pretty good account of themselves in holding the fort because Dr. Randall Poindexter of Cave Township, Franklin County, was called out that night to treat several of his neighbors who were suffering with lead poisoning.

At this time the headquarters of the Ku Klux Klan gang that infested Franklin and Williamson counties was at a vil-

² Milo Erwin, *The History of Williamson County, Illinois* (Marion, Ill., 1876), 109-10.

³ *Ibid*, 164-65.

lage with a bad name and a bad reputation known as "Sneak Out." It was located in Franklin County on the west bank of Ewing Creek at the point where the road between Benton and Thompsonville crossed it. Members of this gang wore the usual white robes and high peaked hats and had their horses covered with sheets. They traveled over the country in the dead of night and visited isolated farm homes where they called out the occupants and warned or threatened them about their conduct.

Early in August, 1875 Bill Jacobs, a Mason who had recently joined the Klan, notified Captain John Hogan and John B. Maddox that they were soon to be visited by the night riders. The latter was also a Mason, and Jacobs evidently thought more highly of his Masonic connections than he did of the Klan. Maddox at the time was one of the commissioners of Franklin County, a successful farmer and perhaps the wealthiest man in the Crawford's Prairie⁴ section where he lived. Hogan likewise was a respected citizen and had served in the Union Army. He had gone to California in a covered wagon at the time of the gold rush and had spent several years there.

Captain Hogan did not propose to take orders from the Klan so he went to Springfield to seek the aid of Governor Beveridge. He told the Governor of conditions in Franklin County and said that if given the authority and means he could raise a volunteer company and arrest the Klansmen. The Governor advised Hogan to go back to Franklin County and to co-operate with Sheriff James F. Mason in organizing a volunteer company. He also said that the state would provide a hundred muskets and ammunition for the group.

On his return to Benton, Captain Hogan met with Maddox and Sheriff Mason and discussed the matter, with the result that a "reception committee" of thirty or forty men armed

⁴ Maddox lived on the western edge of Crawford's Prairie which was about two and one-half miles east and west and a mile and one-half wide.

with shotguns and revolvers gathered at the Maddox home on the evening August 16, the date set by the Klan for its visit. Bill Jacobs had told Maddox that the Klansmen planned to approach from the south where there was a lane bordered by stake-and-rider fences. The posse, under command of Sheriff Mason, blocked this lane at the end near the house with threshing machines, wagons and other farm implements and lay in wait for the raiders.

At 2 A. M. on August 17, 1875, the Klansmen, fourteen of them, rode silently up the lane, two abreast, fully covered by their long white robes, high white hats and masks. In the grim darkness they were, as one of the posse described them, "enough to frighten the devil." When the leader reached the barricade Sheriff Mason and Robert H. Flannigan stepped out of their hiding places and the Sheriff commanded the group to halt and surrender. The leader answered by firing his pistol at the Sheriff, but missed his target.

The Klansmen then wheeled their animals, attempting to escape back down the lane, and the posse opened fire. When the smoke of battle had cleared away they found one wounded Klansman, John Duckworth, lying in the road shot in the neck. Also there was one dead horse, a live horse belonging to one of Maddox's neighbors with its saddle filled with shot, a mule belonging to another neighbor with a saddle that had been borrowed from Maddox's son a few days earlier, and numerous bloody robes discarded in the rout.

Duckworth was carried into the Maddox home where he was examined by Dr. Thomas David Ray of Frankfort Heights, a member of the posse. Dr. Ray thought the man was mortally wounded and told him so. Believing he was making a death-bed confession Duckworth told all that he knew about the Klan.

Only one of the fourteen night riders escaped from the battlefield with his skin whole. The horse with the saddle filled with shot was identified as belonging to Green Cantrell

who lived two miles east of Maddox. He was arrested and taken to Benton where Dr. Zachariah Hickman picked more than forty shot out of the posterior of his anatomy, and the Benton paper commented: "How many shot must be embedded in the carcass of K. K. before a human would consider him wounded? One of the K. K.'s captured has forty-one in him and still persists in saying he was not injured."

The dead horse had been ridden by George Proctor and belonged to his father, an aged minister. Young Proctor was wounded in the heel but was helped away by another Klansman. The next morning the two of them were found in the straw stack of Henry Hunt, a neighbor of my father⁵ who lived twenty miles from the Maddox farm. They had ridden one horse from the scene.

On the day after the battle the citizens of Benton called a meeting and passed resolutions which said:

We, as law-abiding and peaceable citizens of Franklin County . . . do hereby cordially endorse the action of the Sheriff and his posse in their conduct last night; and . . . we condemn in the strongest manner, these armed and disguised marauders, and . . . to their suppression and the maintenance of the laws and liberties of our citizens, we do hereby pledge our lives and money.⁶

Another result was the formation of a "military company" as authorized by Governor Beveridge, to "assist the Sheriff in the execution of the Laws, and be subjected to his orders." About sixty men were enrolled and John Hogan was elected captain; G. S. Hubbard, first lieutenant; J. L. Harrell, second lieutenant; R. H. Flannigan, third lieutenant; and William Drummons, orderly sergeant. Following the organization of this company a number of the Klansmen were arrested and brought before a United States Commissioner. A newspaper clipping in the Cantrell collection, which I have been unable to

⁵ Hiram W. Hall, whose farm was near the northeast corner of Flannigan Township, Hamilton County. He served as a sergeant in Company I, Third Illinois Volunteer Militia in the Mexican War and was lieutenant colonel of the Fortieth Illinois Infantry in the Civil War.

⁶ *Franklin County Courier* (Benton), Aug. 21, 1875.

identify beyond the date, gives the following exciting account of this episode:

THE CHIEF OF THE EGYPTIAN NIGHT RIDERS HELD FOR TRIAL UNDER THE KU-KLUX LAW/ INTERESTING DEVELOPMENTS AT THE EXAMINATION OF THE HELLIONS OF ILLINOIS/ HOW THE MASKED KNIGHTS OF THE GOLDEN RING REGULATED THEIR NEIGHBORS/ A PLACE WHERE HELL COMES AS NEAR CROPPING OUT AS ANYWHERE IN THE WORLD/ THE MYSTERIES OF THE INITIATION AND THE OBJECTS AND PLANS OF THE BANDITS./ THE NIGHT-RIDERS IN COURT.

Centralia, Illinois, August 28, 1875—Deputy United States Marshal [John H. Hogan] and James F. Mason, with a number of guards, armed with shot-guns and revolvers, arrived at this place last night at 7 o'clock, in charge of Aaron Neal, the reputed grand master of the Franklin County Ku-Klux, or Golden Ring, and Green M. Cantrell, John Duckworth, Williamson Briley, James Lannlus, James Abshear, and Frank Fleming, who are said to be members of his band of night riders. The railroad platform was densely crowded with people, all anxious to catch a glimpse of the live Ku-Klux, and the only thing necessary to make the reception an ovation was a brass band.

PROCEEDINGS COMMENCED⁷ at 20 minutes past 9 this morning, United States Commissioner Zabadee Curlee, of Tamaroa, assisted by Wm. Stoker, of Centralia, organized into a United States commissioners' court for the trial of the prisoners upon the complaint and information of John H. Hogan and Wm. W. Jacobs, the last named a member of the Golden Ring, under sections 5,507 and 5,508 of the United States statutes, chapter 7, entitled "Crimes against the elective franchise and civil rights of citizens." . . .

The complaint and information against Neal was made by John H. Hogan, that he did band and conspire with other persons, and did go with them in disguise upon a public highway in Franklin County, and upon the premises of one John B. Maddox, injure, oppress, threaten and intimidate the true right, the exercise and enjoyment of which the said Maddox was entitled to, the right and privilege thereof being guaranteed to him by the constitution and laws of the United States. . . .

MR. JOHN B. MADDOX was the first witness. He testified that he had lived in Franklin since 1837; that he had received notice from Mr. William W. Jacobs through Mr. John H. Hogan, of the proposed attack upon him on the 16th inst., by members of the band who were repulsed in his lane on the night of that day. On cross-examination he testified that his relations with Neal were of a friendly character. Mr. W. W. Jacobs testified that he was initiated into the Ku-Klux or Golden Ring July 29. He was sworn into the organization.

THE OBJECT OF THE BAND was to do simply as it pleased without regard

⁷ Phrases set in capital letters appeared as subheads and occupied a separate line in the original clipping.

to law or anything else. Calvin Moore administered the oath to him. Neal was present at that time, and was also present with the band on the 16th inst., in the battle of Maddox's lane. Several other persons were sworn in the same night. Witness was detained til a uniform came and then proceeded toward Crawford's Prairie. When we were within two or three miles of the prairie several men in uniform and mounted dashed up behind us. We then (the initiates) dressed in uniform, and went to Brown's; then to Calvin Moore's; then to James Moore's; then to Rice's, and then to Maddox's. Neal was with us during all this time. We were at Brown's at about 11 or 12 o'clock. We inquired at Brown's where he was, and so forth and so on, and about a gun he had. Fourteen of us were at Brown's all disguised. I think Neal professed to act as our captain. He and Calvin Moore gave commands. We went to Brown's to whip him. We had given orders which he had not complied with, and we were going to whip him, and **BREAK A GUN HE HAD.**

We then went to Maddox's to give him orders. When we left the main road, we debated whether we should go to Maddox's. We decided to do so, and when we got into Maddox's lane, I thought I saw someone run across it, near the house. As we came up in front of the house, I heard the command "Halt," and the order to surrender, in the name of the people of the State of Illinois. I next heard a cap burst; next a pistol shot. All of us wheeled and the firing commenced. I saw Neal's mule run past me. Neal rode up on the mule, but was not on it when it passed me. I heard that it was the intention to give Maddox orders first, whip him if disobeyed, and **HANG HIM IF HE PERSISTED IN DISOBEDIENCE.**

We went to Brown's to whip him because he had accused people wrongfully. We went to Maddox's because he had been a little too free with women and with Rice's wife. We intended to talk to Maddox, and if he didn't come out to fetch him out. . . .

Mr. John Duckworth, **THE WOUNDED KU-KLUX** then took the stand as a witness for the prosecution. His evidence was a little confused. He testified that he had been a member of the Golden Ring about three months; that he had been initiated with Jacobs, who testified that he became a member less than a month ago. He was initiated in Eli Sommers' lot. Jacobs testified that he was initiated at Hiram Summers', a whiskey-seller at Sneakout. Neal acted as captain, or as the members designated him, grand master. He was at Maddox's, and rode a mule. I had a pistol. Calvin Moore had a gun, and George Proctor a gun. The object of the organization was **TO MAKE FELLOWS DO AS WE WANTED THEM TO.**

The law could not get at us. We gave a man orders, and if he did not obey we whipped him, and would hang him if he did not then obey. Neal was along at the time of the Maddox affair. He was in front. I was in front, too. I was shot and did not know anything more.

Matilda Brown testified that her late husband had been visited twice by the Ku-Klux. The first time was June 24. Four came and wanted water. They asked about Maddox. They were inside the house; but one only talked.

She recognized Neal by his voice. I have known him from his youth and knew his voice. I recognized Calvin Moore by his actions; by a peculiar walk; by a proud, hasty walk. I told my husband they would be back to see him. Fourteen called the second time and inquired for Brown. I told them he was in bed, sick. They asked if he had a gun and revolver. I told them no. They told me HE WAS MEASURING HORSE-TRACKS and must stop that in that country. I recognized the voice of Calvin Moore on the second visit. My sick husband was frightened. He didn't appear like the same man and died the next day. I think fright hastened his death. Dr. Thomas David Ray testified that he was waiting on Brown at the visit by the Ku-Klux and thought the excitement hastened his death.

The second case against Neal, of conspiring with others to injure, oppress and intimidate citizens, was submitted on the same evidence. The cases were submitted without argument. Commissioner Stoker, Commissioner Curlee being absent from the room, having been attacked by sickness, DISMISSED THE SECOND CASE against Neal as insufficient, and said he would consult with Commissioner Curlee on the first case and announce his decision after supper. Court here adjourned til half-past 7 o'clock. . . .

After a conference of several hours, United States Commissioner Curlee decided to hold Cantrell in fifteen hundred dollars bond, and Briley in one thousand. The sum is considered low, and regret and indignation is expressed that Neal, the leader, should have been let off on two thousand dollars bond. . . .

In a long talk with Captain John Hogan, who was Captain of the Franklin County Militia, I have gathered some interesting facts. It is owing to Captain Hogan that the first organized resistance was made to the Klan. He provoked their hostility by prosecuting Hiram Sommers, of the Klan, for selling his boy whisky, and was warned to pay Sommers back the amount of the fine \$100 and costs. He was to have been visited on the 20th inst., and on a second warning was to have been hung. He aroused Maddox and Sheriff Mason and procured necessary arms and accoutrements from Governor Beveridge to form a militia company for the arrest of the offenders. The arms were furnished by the State, which of course, also bears the expense of their subsistence. . . .

A careful estimate shows that nearly fifteen hundred men are more or less directly connected or in sympathy with the band in Franklin, Williamson and adjoining counties. Aaron Neal, the leader, is an old member of the Southern Ku-Klux Klan.

GREAT CREDIT IS DUE W. W. Jacobs, who has voluntarily exposed the Klan and its membership. He joined it for the purpose of exposing and breaking up the organization, and another object he had was to discover the murderer of old man Vancil, who was hung by a band of Ku-Klux for disobedience of their orders about two years ago. Several men were arrested for the murder, but had to be discharged after the main witnesses against them had been shot and killed. It has been discovered through Duckworth,

Jacobs and others that Aaron Neal, Calvin Moore and a man named Jesse Cavins were all present at, if they did not assist in, the hanging of Vancil. This brutal murder will probably never be avenged.

THE PASSWORDS OF THE KLAN were simple. On meeting a supposed member I [Jacobs] put my hands in my pants pockets and moved my fingers on the outside. If he was a member he responded by moving his coat by the lapel with his hands, or the lapels of his vest by the same means. Then, taking him by the hand, I would put two fingers on his hand between the thumb and first finger, and if he was a member he would say something about doing well. The last two words were the passwords, and were sufficient, if used in any sort of phrase.

So far as I know and so far as reports indicate no member of the Ku Klux Klan, even those who were caught red-handed, was ever convicted in Franklin County. However, I do know that the dose of lead poisoning administered by Sheriff Mason, Captain Hogan and their posse was an effective cure for Klan activities in 1875.

I personally knew Bill Jacobs, the Mason who joined the Klan and made the Maddox ambush possible. I also knew Captain Hogan, a leader of the posse, and Dr. Thomas David Ray, who was there and treated the wounded Klansman Duckworth, possibly saving his life. I had been in the Maddox home many times and had heard much of the activities of the Klan. But aside from my first article in 1923 and this longer one I have never seen the record in print.

LINCOLNIANA

in the

Illinois State Historical Library

BY HARRY E. PRATT

THE Centennial Building which houses the Illinois State Historical Library stands upon the site of the Ninian W. Edwards home where Abraham Lincoln courted Mary Todd and where, on November 4, 1842 they were married, and where, forty years later, Mrs. Lincoln died.

The Historical Library has made the collection of information about the Lincolns one of its major objectives for more than half a century, and its holdings of books, manuscripts, pictures and memorabilia give it a leading place among Lincoln collections. The manuscripts in Lincoln's handwriting (the 1,000th acquired October 2, 1953) range chronologically from a signature on a petition to the Sangamon County Commissioners' Court in March, 1831—one year after Lincoln arrived in Illinois—to a telegram to Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton from City Point, Virginia, on April 4, 1865, eleven days before the President's death. (Since this collection passed the 1,000 mark the Library has added seventeen manuscripts and it will continue to acquire others as gifts and funds permit.)

More than half of the manuscripts were written by Lincoln during his thirty-one years in Illinois, some in his New Salem years (1831-1837), including election returns, receipts, land surveys, and a letter to George Spears on July 1, 1834, the earliest extant letter of Lincoln. More than two dozen letters relate to his efforts to secure election to the United

States Senate in 1854-1855 and in 1858-1859. Lincoln's earliest known check, for \$37 to "Self" on November 24, 1855, is owned by the Library. There are legal documents in Lincoln's handwriting in some 300 of his cases in the circuit courts, the Illinois Supreme Court and the federal courts at Springfield. Fourteen of the fifteen counties of the Eighth Judicial Circuit he traveled (1839-1860) are represented in the legal papers.

Lincoln served as judge on several occasions, for a day at a time, on the Eighth Circuit when Judge David Davis was detained at his home in Bloomington. Judge Lincoln's original entries in some eighty cases in the judges' dockets in the counties of Sangamon, Logan and DeWitt are in the Library.

Lincoln wrote a great many letters in his legible, distinctive hand. Despite the fact that they are scattered into more than one hundred libraries and among many private collectors, the Historical Library has several fine series of letters. There are nineteen to his only intimate friend Joshua F. Speed; twelve to Elihu B. Washburne the Galena congressman with whom he was friendly from 1854; eight (including his longest letter on legal business) to William Martin, a fellow-attorney at Alton; eleven letters to Henry E. Dummer of Beardstown, whom Lincoln succeeded as the law partner of John T. Stuart in 1837.

Fifteen of the letters to Speed were acquired in the auction sale of *Lincolniana* of the late Oliver R. Barrett in February, 1952, for \$35,800 provided by interested citizens. Included was the six-page letter wherein Lincoln told the story of the Fisher murder case which had excited Springfield during the week prior to June 19, 1841. Seven others relate to his thoughts on the subject of marriage for both Speed and himself.

For Lincoln's presidential years, the Library has many notes, endorsements, and letters, ranging from eighteen to Simon Cameron, his first secretary of war, to more than one hundred to Cameron's successor, Edwin M. Stanton. Of let-



—Photo by N. E. Nilsson.

HENRY HORNER-LINCOLN ROOM OF THE HISTORICAL LIBRARY

ters to Civil War generals there are seven to Joseph Hooker, eight to Nathaniel P. Banks, and eleven to George B. McClellan.

After his nomination for the presidency on May 18, 1860, Lincoln made no speeches, nor did he stir out of Springfield for seven months. On November 8 he wrote to Vice-president-elect Hannibal Hamlin to meet him in Chicago, and eleven days later to his old friend, Joshua Speed, to come to Chicago

from Lexington, Kentucky. Both letters are in the Library. A letter of unusual interest is the emphatic denial on June 19, 1860, to Samuel Galloway of Columbus, Ohio, that the James Q. Howard campaign biography of Lincoln had in any way been authorized by him. He did, however, aid in a publication of his Cooper Union Address, as shown by his letter of suggestions to Charles C. Nott of New York City on September 6, 1860.

Other Lincoln items are significant because they are the only ones of their kind: the marriage license issued to Abraham Lincoln and Mary Todd in Springfield on November 4, 1842 with the notation by the Rev. Charles Dresser that he had married them on the same day; the contract made by Lincoln for the purchase of his home in 1844 (on deposit); the only known sight draft in Lincoln's favor, drawn on the St. Louis bankers Page & Bacon on March 14, 1857 for \$300.

President Lincoln wrote five known copies of the Gettysburg Address. The third, prepared for Edward Everett for sale at a New York Sanitary Fair, is on permanent display with the manuscript of Everett's address at Gettysburg, November 19, 1863. These two documents were purchased for \$60,000 in 1944 for the Library by the schoolchildren of Illinois with the assistance of Marshall Field.

Unique is Lincoln's endorsement "Mark me down on your side—" on a letter from Dr. Julius Lehmann on May 4, 1858, requesting his services in a slander suit.

Two letters of Congressman Lincoln to his wife, April 16 and June 12, 1848 are in the Library, also her reply to the one received in April. Lincoln answered his wife's previous request to return to Washington: "Will you be a *good girl* in all things; if I consent." A change in plans to stop at a hotel instead of a private home caused Lincoln to write from Cleveland to Congressman Elihu B. Washburne on February 15, 1861, the only extant letter from the twelve-day trip to Washington to assume the presidency.

Six times Lincoln ran for the legislature in Illinois. After his last election, in 1854, he was advised to resign to enhance his chances of election to the United States Senate. His letter to County Clerk Noah Matheny on November 25, is Lincoln's only letter of resignation.

In the spring of 1853 the firm in Lexington, Kentucky, in which Lincoln's father-in-law Robert S. Todd was a partner at his death in 1849, filed suit against Lincoln alleging he had collected \$472.54 for the firm which he had failed to remit. Lincoln was angry and proved the claim false. Four of the six known letters Lincoln wrote to George B. Kinkead, Lexington attorney, concerning the lawsuit are in the Library. On September 13, 1853 he said "This matter harrasses my feelings a good deal."

In 1860 the Lincoln-Douglas debates were printed, the publisher using for copy Lincoln's scrapbook, now in the Alfred Whital Stern Collection of Lincolniana in the Library of Congress. One hundred free copies were promised to Lincoln, and a dozen or so of these books, autographed, are known today. Lincoln's letter of February 4, 1860 promising a copy to Abraham Jonas is tipped in the autographed copy presented to his good friend and political supporter in Quincy.

William Dean Howells wrote a ninety-four-page biography of candidate Lincoln in 1860. Samuel C. Parks, a lawyer of Lincoln, Illinois, sent his copy for Lincoln to read and correct. There are nineteen corrections in the Parks copy in the Library. One paragraph is deleted and this notation inserted in the margin. "Wholly wrong. I first saw Douglas at Vandalia, Decr. 1834. I never saw him at New-Salem." Howells' statement that Lincoln had walked the one hundred miles to attend the legislature at Vandalia was crossed out, and the marginal note reads: "No harm, if true; but, in fact, not true."

With no army general did Lincoln need to employ so much patience and tact as with his friend, the Democratic

Executive Mansion,

Washington, Jan 9. 1863.

Mrs Lincoln.

Philadelphia, Pa,

Thank you letters put "lads" private

away - I have you right across about him.

Lincoln

THE PRESIDENT TELEGRAPHS OF HIS WORRY ABOUT TAD. TWO DAYS LATER HIS WIRE ACKNOWLEDGES RECEIPT OF MRS. LINCOLN'S THREE DISPATCHES TELLING HIM THAT SHE AND TAD ARE WELL. (*Original in Historical Library.*)

congressman from Springfield, John A. McClernand. Over-ambitious and headstrong McClernand clashed with Generals Grant and Halleck, bringing serious charges against the latter. "I have too many *family* controversies . . . to voluntarily, or so long as I can avoid it, take up another," replied the President on January 22, 1863. In a later letter (August 12, 1863—also in the Library) refusing to allow an open break with Grant, Lincoln closed with this notable sentence: "My belief is that the permanent estimate of what a general does in the field, is fixed by the 'cloud of witnesses' who have been with him in the field; and relying on these, he who has the right needs not to fear."

"Last stump speech" has been used to describe Lincoln's long letter of August 26, 1863 to James C. Conkling, read at a "mass-meeting of unconditional Union-men" in Springfield on September 3. The presence of two drafts of the letter written by the President in his papers in the Library of Congress and the copy made by a clerk which he corrected before affixing his signature and mailing, indicates the letter's importance. The copy read by Conkling is now in the Historical Library. The Conkling letter contains the often quoted: "The Father of Waters again goes unvexed to the sea. . . . For the great republic—for the principle it lives by, and keeps alive—for man's vast future,—thanks to all."

A series of eighteen telegrams from the President to his wife make it possible to trace the route of her visit in New England in 1863; he kept her informed on the war, told her to put Tad's pistol away as "I had an ugly dream about him" (June 9), and advised that new tires had been put on their carriage (June 15).

Among the unusual letters from Lincoln's pen is one to Andrew McCallen on July 4, 1851 which closes with a humorous touch: "As the Dutch justice said when he married folks, 'Now vere ish my hundred tollars.' " To his friend and former physician, Dr. Anson G. Henry, he wrote on July 4, 1860:

"Our eldest boy Bob . . . will enter Harvard University this month. He promises very well, considering we never controlled him much."

Lincoln's reticence—and political wisdom—in admitting to the press any presidential aspirations is illustrated in his reply to Editor Thomas J. Pickett of Rock Island, thirteen months before convention time, when he wrote: "I must, in candor, say I do not think myself fit for the Presidency." The Historical Library has the letter which Pickett received, and Lincoln's file copy is in the Lincoln papers in the Library of Congress.

To make certain the appointment of an old friend President Lincoln directed Secretary of War Stanton on November 11, 1863 to appoint Jacob R. Freese "a Colonel for a colored regiment—and this regardless of whether he can tell the exact shade of Julius Caesar's hair."

The President's military acumen is shown in many of his letters and telegrams. For example, on June 5, 1863 he wrote to General Joseph Hooker:

...In one word, I would not take any risk of being entangled upon the river, like an ox jumped half over a fence, and liable to be torn by dogs, front and rear, without a fair chance to gore one way or kick the other. If Lee would come to my side of the river, I would keep on the same side & fight him, or act on the defence, according as might be my estimate of his strength relatively to my own. But these are mere suggestions which I desire to be controlled by the judgment of yourself and Gen. Halleck.

Disappointed with the military efforts—and fault-finding—of General Banks, Lincoln wrote on December 2, 1864: "I know you are dissatisfied, which pains me very much, but I wish not to be argued with further."

Lincoln's genius for phrase-making is manifested in his telegrams as well as in his letters and speeches. To General

George B. McClellan, in camp before Richmond, he suggested on July 5, 1862, "If you can hold your present position, we shall '*bive*' the enemy yet." On October 24, Lincoln wired McClellan:

Will you pardon me for asking what the horses of your army have done since the battle of Antietam that fatigue anything?

Lincoln presumably liked to forecast elections and tabulate the returns and draw conclusions therefrom. Among such tabulations is the long one in the Library made after the election of 1864. The tables comparing the 1860 and 1864 elections provided data used by the President in his annual message to Congress on December 6.

Lincoln wrote "Affectionately" to his stepbrother John D. Johnston, January 12, 1851 concerning the welfare of his parents living in Coles County:

You already know I desire that neither Father or Mother shall be in want of any comfort either in health or sickness while they live; and I feel sure you have not failed to use my name, if necessary, to procure a doctor or, any thing else for Father in his present sickness....

The Library also has the exceptionally fine letter to Johnston, November 4, 1851, giving this advice:

If you intend to go to work, there is no better place than right where you are: if you do not intend to go to work, you can not get along any where....Now do not misunderstand this letter. I do not write it in any unkindness. I write it in order, if possible, to get you to *face* the truth... you are destitute because you have *idled* away all your time. Your thousand pretences for not getting along better, are all non-sense—they deceive no body but yourself. *Go to work* is the only cure for your case.

Then follows the only extant writing of Lincoln to his step-mother Sarah Bush Johnston Lincoln, "A word for Mother . . . Sincerely your Son."

The Library has four documents signed by Abraham's father, Thomas Lincoln, one of which he signed with his mark. Sarah Bush Lincoln, from what little is known of her, could not write her name and always signed with her mark. Letters of Mary Todd Lincoln and three of her sons are in the Library (Edward died at the age of four). Ninety-two of the Library's 128 letters of Mrs. Lincoln were written to Jacob Bunn, Springfield banker, who handled her financial affairs while she was living at Pau, France, from September, 1876 until her return to the United States in October, 1880.

Among the three dozen letters of Robert Todd Lincoln, three express his thanks in times of sorrow to John T. Stuart of Springfield, and his son bearing the same name. They were written after the funerals of Robert's father, his mother, and his own son Abraham who died in London in 1890 at the age of seventeen.

William Lincoln's two letters from Washington in 1861 to his former playmate, Henry Remann in Springfield, relate to "military affairs." Eleven-year-old Willie announced on September 30 that "my companions and I are raising a battalion . . . which is in a high state of efficiency and discipline." The Library also has three telegrams of Thomas (Tad), younger brother of Willie, sent from Washington—one of which is signed "Col. Thomas Lincoln."

Neither Lincoln nor his wife left a will. His estate was administered by Justice David Davis of the United States Supreme Court, under whom Lincoln had practiced law on the Eighth Circuit in Illinois; Robert administered his mother's estate. Records of these two estates, and son Tad's, filed with the Sangamon County Court, have been transferred to the Library. The telegram, dated April 15, 1865, a few hours after the President's death, in which Robert asked Davis to take charge of his father's affairs, is in the Library.

Outstanding among the handwritten books associated with the Lincolns is the record, bound in deerskin, of the

Executive Mansion,

Washington, March 1, 1864.

Hon. Sec. of War.

My dear Sir:

A poor widow, by the name of Baird, has a son in the Army, that for some offences has been sentenced to serve a long time without pay, or at most, with very little pay. — I do not like this punishment of withholding pay — it falls so very hard upon poor families —

ISAAC P. BAIRD, PRIVATE, ARRESTED FOR DESERTION, HAD HIS PAY REDUCED TEN DOLLARS A MONTH. LINCOLN'S FIRST REQUEST HAD BEEN IGNORED. BAIRD WAS LATER TRANSFERRED AND SERVED UNTIL MAY 30, 1865. (*Original in Historical Library.*)

Pigeon Creek Baptist Church in southern Indiana, of which Lincoln's father and stepmother were members. Thomas joined by letter on June 7, 1823 and served on a committee to repair the log church.

On deposit in the Library are the records of the First Presbyterian Church in Springfield. They record Mrs. Lincoln's membership, Tad's baptism, and show Mr. Lincoln—although not a member—serving on a church committee to decide whether to pay for an organ. Clinton L. Conkling's three-volume manuscript history of the Second Presbyterian

Church and its pastor, the Rev. Albert Hale, is a valuable source on Lincoln's Springfield.

Two "day books" of the drugstore of Corneau & Diller, including purchases made by the Lincolns from February 1, 1855 to December 31, 1860 are in the Library. Account books of the department store of John Williams & Company record the Lincoln purchases from May 27, 1851 to December 24, 1860. Also, the Alton and Sangamon Railroad subscription book shows Lincoln's purchase of two shares in 1847.

One of the finest manuscript sources on Lincoln's activities in Illinois, 1831-1839, is in the two volumes of the minutes of the sessions of the Sangamon County Commissioners' Court. The three-man court carried on the functions now performed by the county board of supervisors. In the 1830's it was concerned with tavern, ferry, store and mill licenses; the surveying of new roads, authorizing mill sites, election precincts and officials. The volumes are being typed and indexed for ready use.

MANUSCRIPT COLLECTIONS

The Illinois State Historical Library has many manuscript collections ranging from a few pieces to several having more than 10,000 items. A number are in large part devoted to the career of Abraham Lincoln. Only those that have significant value in the study of his life will be mentioned here.

THE ABRAHAM LINCOLN ASSOCIATION

In 1953 the Illinois State Historical Library acquired the files of the Abraham Lincoln Association of Springfield, which had been engaged in research and publication of material on Lincoln since 1925. Of great significance to students of Lincoln in the ten four-drawer files are the more than 5,000 photostats of Lincoln's writings accumulated in connection

with the Association's edition of *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln* published by Rutgers University Press on February 12, 1953. The Association's practice of keeping an up-to-date record of every document written by Lincoln (location, photostat whenever possible, etc.) is being continued by the Historical Library. The Library also will serve as the depository for Lincoln material which has been located since publication of the *Collected Works* (new documents, corrections, etc.) in preparation for a supplementary volume.

The files contain data on nearly every phase of Lincoln's career in Illinois. Much additional information on his day-by-day activities has been collected since the Association published the four volumes covering 1809-1861.

For many years the Association and the Historical Library have served as a clearing house on all phases of Lincoln's life, answering queries, assisting writers in the Lincoln field, and aiding in the detection of forged Lincoln documents.

JOHN G. NICOLAY AND JOHN HAY PAPERS

President Lincoln's private secretaries, Nicolay and Hay, began publication of their biography of Lincoln in the November, 1886 issue of *Century Magazine*. The biography was published in ten volumes in 1890. The Library has most of the manuscript, proof and notes. Much of the proof is annotated, and the notes include original letters of Robert Lincoln, Generals Nathaniel P. Banks, William T. Sherman, John Pope, Francis P. Blair, Secretary of War Simon Cameron and others; also newspaper clippings and magazine articles. There are numerous letters elicited by the series in *Century*, and correspondence with its editors. The manuscript used in the publication of the three-volume privately printed *Letters and Diaries of John Hay* (1908), largely in the handwriting of Henry Adams, contains material not printed in the three volumes nor in Tyler Dennett (ed.), *Lincoln and the Civil War in the Diaries and Letters of John Hay*.

One unique Lincoln item found its way into the Nicolay and Hay Papers. Tied together are the telegrams from governors of the Union states giving the official returns in the presidential election of 1864. On each telegram is the name of the state in Lincoln's handwriting. These telegrams furnished data for his chart comparing the 1860 and 1864 elections.

ROBERT ANDERSON BLACK HAWK WAR PAPERS

Lincoln's eighty-day service in the Black Hawk War in the spring and summer of 1832 can be traced day-by-day in the Robert Anderson papers on that sanguine conflict. Anderson, later of Fort Sumter fame, was a lieutenant and adjutant to the commanding general, Henry Atkinson. In addition to three hundred letters, there are letter and order books of Atkinson and Governor John Reynolds, and the journal of Lieutenant Albert S. Johnston, an aide-de-camp to Atkinson.

GENERAL JOHN A. MCCLERNAND PAPERS

Lincoln appointed John A. McClernand, Democratic congressman from his home town, a brigadier general in the summer of 1861. Outranked in the West only by Halleck and Grant, he became a major general, resigning in 1864. The McClernand papers, which include nine letter and order books and more than 10,000 letters, extend from 1823 to 1896, but the major part of the material covers his military years.

McClernand kept copies of nearly everything that passed through his hands. There are some two hundred letters from General Grant and the fruits of an extensive correspondence with Governor Richard Yates and other state officials of Illinois, and with Lincoln, Halleck and Stanton regarding McClernand's difficulties with Grant and Sherman.

NATIONAL LINCOLN MONUMENT ASSOCIATION PAPERS

Lincoln's Springfield friends organized immediately after his death and made plans to erect a tomb and monument.

Their pleas for funds met with a slow response and not until the fall of 1874 was the Lincoln Tomb dedicated in the presence of President Grant and General Sherman, with Richard J. Oglesby, Civil War general, governor of Illinois and United States senator, delivering the dedicatory address. The papers include the minutes book of the Association, correspondence 1865-1882, and circulars, contracts and reports from 1865 to 1894 when the State of Illinois took over management of the Lincoln Tomb.

JOHN T. STUART-MILTON HAY PAPERS

These papers include the correspondence of John T. Stuart, Lincoln's first law partner, and his wife Mary (Nash) Stuart, before and after their marriage in 1837; and correspondence with their eldest daughter, Bettie Stuart, attending Monticello Seminary at Godfrey, Illinois. The 500 letters contain interesting data on social life in Springfield, politics, business and family life, especially in the 1850's, and on affairs in Washington in 1864 when Stuart was in the lower house of Congress. Notable is a letter of former President Millard Fillmore to Stuart, August 10, 1864, urging that "all men who value their own liberty should unite to change the administration . . . for without this all is lost."

The letters of Milton Hay, uncle of Lincoln's secretary John Hay and son-in-law of Stephen T. Logan (former law partner of Lincoln), include many from Washington during the Civil War while Mrs. Hay was visiting her sister, Mrs. Ward H. Lamon.

GOVERNOR RICHARD YATES PAPERS

Richard Yates, the "Soldier's Friend" and Civil War governor of Illinois, retained a remarkable collection of letters received. Republican politics of the decade before 1860, and especially the political campaigns from 1854 on, are set forth

The meeting, in spite of my
attempt to decline it, appointed me one of
the delegates; so that in getting Baker
the nomination, I shall be "fixed" a
good deal like a fellow who is made
proteman to the man what has cut
him out, and is muzzing his own dear
"gal" —

LINCOLN WRITES TO HIS FRIEND JOSHUA F. SPEED, MARCH 24, 1843, THAT THE SANGAMON COUNTY DELEGATES TO THE
SEVENTH CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT CONVENTION AT PEKIN WERE INSTRUCTED TO VOTE FOR HIS FRIEND EDWARD D.
BAKER FOR CONGRESS. LINCOLN HIMSELF HAD HOPED TO RECEIVE THE NOMINATION. (*Original in Historical Library.*)

in numerous letters from Yates' wide acquaintanceship. Yates energetically promoted the war effort and often thought Lincoln too dilatory. The collection has copies of extensive correspondence with the White House by Yates and other Illinois state officials.

There is a typescript of the 400-page manuscript biography of Yates by his son, Richard, governor of Illinois (1901-1905), and a congressman for seven consecutive terms.

DR. ANSON G. HENRY PAPERS

After his emotional crisis on the "fatal first of Jany. '41," Lincoln claimed that Dr. Anson G. Henry was necessary to his existence. The doctor was always more interested in politics than in medicine but, despite Lincoln's efforts in his behalf, never held a public office until Lincoln appointed him surveyor general of Washington Territory. This collection is not a large one, but it is rich in Lincoln material. There are six letters of Henry to the President (1861-1862) and seventeen from Henry to his wife, several of which were written at the White House. The doctor's medical practice in Springfield in 1857 is recorded in a small unbound book.

OZIAS M. HATCH PAPERS

This collection consists of two hundred letters of Ozias M. Hatch, secretary of state of Illinois (1857-1865). Of great value are those to Hatch from John G. Nicolay and Charles Philbrick, clerk in the White House. Hatch was closely associated with Lincoln during the period 1857-1861, when the latter was more or less a legal and political adviser to the first Republican state administration, under Governor William H. Bissell.

JESSE W. WEIK PAPERS

Jesse W. Weik (1857-1930) is best known as the joint author of *Herndon's Life of Lincoln* and his own study, *The*

Real Lincoln. Among the one thousand items are the original papers in several of Lincoln's earliest law cases, including some documents from *Hawthorn v. Wooldridge*, his first case. The bulk of the correspondence is with Belford, Clarke & Company, publishers of *Herndon's Lincoln*, and with D. Appleton & Company and Scribners in regard to later editions of the biography.

REMINISCENCES OF LINCOLN

More than one hundred letters and statements written in 1908-1909 at the time of the Lincoln Centennial, mainly unpublished, constitute material of value to the Lincoln student. Several were written by fellow residents of Springfield. To these have been added many letters of those who attended political conventions during the Lincoln period, or wrote of Washington in war-time; also there are letters of soldiers who saw Lincoln at army reviews, and those of persons who attended Ford's Theatre on April 14, 1865.

OTHER COLLECTIONS

There are fifty letters (1924-1928) of Albert J. Beveridge to William Connelley, secretary of the Kansas State Historical Society, concerning Beveridge's biography of Lincoln. The problems Beveridge encountered in writing the biography together with Connelley's notes, especially on Kansas affairs in the 1850's, make this material valuable.

Captain E. P. Doherty of the 16th New York Cavalry made claim on May 9, 1865, that men under his command "participated in the killing of 'Booth' and the capture of 'Harold' the two assassins of our late President." His retained copies of claims and affidavits cover some forty pages of manuscript.

H. C. Shotwell, a Chicago engraver, made a steel engraving of the Hesler photograph of Lincoln (Meserve No. 6).

He sent copies to prominent people, including several who had known Lincoln. Among the twenty-six acknowledgments in the Library are interesting comments from Leonard Swett, Robert T. Lincoln, Leonard Volk, Robert G. Ingersoll and Dennis F. Hanks.

Gideon Welles, secretary of the navy during the Civil War, is represented by twenty-six letters. These contain revealing data on Lincoln's selection of his cabinet and Welles' articles on Lincoln and the Civil War prepared for *Galaxy* magazine.

Elmer E. Ellsworth, first officer to be killed in the Civil War, studied for a short time in the Lincoln & Herndon law office. On October 21, 1860 he wrote to Carrie Spafford, his fiancée, in Rockford: "I made my maiden speech. (on political topics I mean) Mr. Herndon, (Mr. Lincolns law partner) & myself had the felicity of addressing a crowd of sovereigns on the 'all absorbing issues of the present campaign' I believe it is arranged that I am to speak every day, until the election, in the country precincts. Hurrah for the next President." Among the sixty-six letters of Elmer to Carrie are fourteen from Springfield and one from Indianapolis, February 11, 1861, while accompanying Lincoln to Washington. There is a fine letter of recommendation of Ellsworth by his friend Simon B. Buckner, who later surrendered Fort Donelson to Grant. In March, 1861, Ellsworth, ill at Willard's Hotel, wrote to Carrie: "Both Mr. Lincolns children have the measles. I took it from them."

PRINTED LINCOLNIANA

Ranking among the top six institutions in the country in its collection of Lincolniana, the Library has over 5,500 books and pamphlets. These include the outstanding collection assembled by the late Governor Henry Horner and presented to the Library on April 23, 1940.

The Alfred Whital Stern Civil War Collection, housed in a special alcove, includes more than 5,000 volumes on that monumental conflict; in addition to these the Library has over 5,000 volumes in the stacks.

Governor Horner began buying extensively in 1925 and paid high prices for many of the rare items. Thus he acquired numerous works that are unobtainable today. Supplemented by the Library's own extensive holdings this collection now includes some ninety per cent of all Lincoln books and pamphlets. More than thirty languages are represented, among them being Bulgarian, Arabic, Korean, Icelandic, Chinese, Welsh, Hawaiian and Hungarian. One of the earliest lives of Lincoln in a foreign language was the German translation of James Q. Howard's biography made by Professor Wilhelm Grauert, published at Columbus, Ohio, in July, 1860. The Library has two copies of this work; and an anonymous book in German, *Das Lebens von Abraham Lincoln, nebst einer kurzen skizze des Lebens von Hannibal Hamlin* (Chicago, 1860). Equally scarce is the ninety-six-page pamphlet by Ichabod Codding: *A Republican Manual for the Campaign* (1860). The Library also possesses more than twenty Republican campaign song-books used in 1860 and 1864.

Henry C. Whitney began to travel the Eighth Judicial Circuit in 1855 with Lincoln. His son, Frank Whitney, became Horner's first law partner, and from him came the copy of Joseph G. Baldwin's *Flush Times of Alabama and Mississippi*. This volume, filled with a lawyer's extravagant humor, Lincoln loved to read, enjoying particularly the chapter entitled "Cave Burton, Esq., of Kentucky." The copy of this book which Lincoln read, damaged by its circuit travels and the Chicago fire, is a prized volume of the Library. On the shelves is an autographed copy of Henry C. Whitney's book, *Life on the Circuit with Lincoln*, presented to his son Frank, and by him in turn to Governor Horner.

Isaac N. Arnold's own copy of his book *The History of Abraham Lincoln, and the Overthrow of Slavery*, has been heavily marked and annotated, probably by the author in the preparation of his later work *The Life of Abraham Lincoln*, first published in 1885. In the Library is another unusual volume, Ward Hill Lamon's *The Life of Abraham Lincoln*, inscribed for John Hay, Lincoln's assistant private secretary, which contains many marginal notes and corrections by Hay.

Prized for its beauty and its association value is a magnificent volume designed and hand illuminated by Alberto Sangorski, noted London craftsman, containing the Gettysburg Address, the Second Inaugural, and Walt Whitman's "O Captain, My Captain." The inscription in the volume, presented by a group of eminent men, reads: "To Judge Henry Horner, whose deep understanding of Abraham Lincoln's practical idealism has been the human inspiration of this work."

An enumeration of all the rare items would extend the limits of this sketch, but from many the following have been chosen. Among the books noted for their high monetary value and scarcity are the Fish bibliography of *Lincolnia* (40 copies, 1906); Oakleaf bibliography (1925); Ben: Perley Poore, *The Conspiracy Trial for the Murder of the President* including the rare third volume; an edition of this same work in ten parts in paper, no other copy of which is known to exist; the folio edition of *Tributes to the Memory of Abraham Lincoln* (Washington, 1885); *Lincoln Letters* (6 copies, 1909); *Ode to Abraham Lincoln* by F. Campadelli, printed in Paris in May, 1865.

Many of Lincoln's speeches published by the *Illinois State Journal* in pamphlet form prior to 1860 are in the Library, and there is a copy of the apparently unique "House Divided" speech delivered at Springfield, June 16, 1858, and printed by the *True Republican* Press at Sycamore, Illinois, in 1858.

Unusual items are four original timetables of the Lincoln funeral train: (1) on the Hudson River Railroad from New

York to Albany; (2) on the Buffalo and Erie Railroad from Buffalo to Erie; (3) from Indianapolis to Chicago, where the train apparently traveled over three different railroads; (4) from Chicago to Springfield over the Chicago & Alton Railroad.

The Library has one of the two known copies of *Life of Abe Lincoln, of Illinois*, a tiny ($1\frac{1}{2}$ by $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches) satirical campaign biography of eight pages published in 1860. The name of the author and the place of publication are unknown.

The Historical Library is rich in collateral material necessary to the student and writer in the field of Lincolniana. There are the House and Senate Journals, the Reports, and the Laws, 1834-1841, while Lincoln served in the Illinois House of Representatives; also the proceedings of Congress while Lincoln was a member, and during his presidency. The reports of the Illinois Supreme Court cover some 178 of Lincoln's 243 cases during a twenty-year period.

In the two-volume *Index* to the fifty volumes of the *Transactions* and *Papers* of the Illinois State Historical Society published in 1953 there are nine pages devoted to Lincoln references. Annual indexes to the forty-six volumes issued since 1908 of the quarterly *Journal* of the Society cover some twelve pages—six pages in the bound *Index* covering the first twenty-five volumes. The twelve-foot shelf covered by the *Transactions*, *Papers*, and *Journals* carries the fruits of research by many students of Lincoln.

In the printed *Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library, Lincoln Series*, are: Edwin E. Sparks, *The Lincoln-Douglas Debates of 1858*; Jay Monaghan, *Lincoln Bibliography: 1839-1939* (2 volumes); and T. C. Pease and J. G. Randall, *The Diary of Orville Hickman Browning* (2 volumes). The original of the diary is in the Library.

In 1953 the Historical Library published for free distribution the *Abraham Lincoln Chronology: 1809-1865* compiled by the State Historian in charge of the Library.

The Library has complete files of the publications of the Lincoln Centennial Association (1908-1924) and its successor, the Abraham Lincoln Association (1924-1952). Included are the *Annual Addresses* (1909-1918); *Bulletins* (1923-1939, 58 numbers); *Annual Papers* (1924-1939); and the *Abraham Lincoln Quarterly* (1940-1952). The *Quarterly* is also available on microfilm, and duplicate copies of all the publications may be borrowed on inter-library loan. Among the authors represented are: James G. Randall, Paul M. Angle, Benjamin P. Thomas, F. Lauriston Bullard, Logan Hay, Helen Nicolay, Roy P. Basler and William E. Baringer.

Here also are to be found complete files (with indexes) of the *Lincoln Kinsman* (1938-1942, 54 numbers) and *Lincoln Lore* (1,281st number was issued on October 26, 1953) edited by Louis A. Warren of the Lincoln National Life Foundation, Fort Wayne, Indiana. The quarterly publication, *Lincoln Herald*, edited by R. Gerald McMurtry and Robert L. Kincaid, of Lincoln Memorial University, Harrogate, Tennessee, is also available. A long-awaited index is in preparation and should facilitate its increased use. Duplicate copies of many issues of the *Lincoln Herald* may be procured through inter-library loan.

The Library has the file of 52 numbers of *Rare Lincolniana* (1912-1935) edited and published by William Abbatt. Specific issues of periodicals which carry Lincolniana articles are catalogued as separate items.

NEWSPAPERS

The Library possesses the most extensive files of Illinois newspapers available for the study of Lincoln's Life. Most important among the holdings of some 11,000 bound volumes of newspapers and some 6,000 rolls of microfilm is the file of the Whig and Republican *Sangamo Journal* (later called the *Illinois Journal* and now known as the *Illinois State Journal*) which is practically complete from the first issue (November 10, 1831) up to the present. Lincoln was a friend of the

The leading matter in your letter is your wish
to return to the side of the Mountains— Will you be
a good gent in all things, if I consent?

CONGRESSMAN LINCOLN WRITES FROM WASHINGTON, JUNE 12, 1848, TO HIS WIFE WHO IS VISITING IN LEXINGTON, KENTUCKY. HE CONSENTS TO HER RETURN, "AND THAT AS *soon* AS POSSIBLE." (*Original in Historical Library.*)

God bless you, and all with you.
Destroy the rebel army, if possible.

A. Lincoln

PRESIDENT LINCOLN'S TELEGRAM OF SEPTEMBER 15, 1862 THANKS GENERAL GEORGE B. MCCLELLAN FOR VICTORIES IN THE BATTLES OF SOUTH MOUNTAIN AND CRAMPTON'S GAP. MCCLELLAN FAILED TO "DESTROY THE REBEL ARMY" TWO DAYS LATER AT ANTIETAM. (*Original in Historical Library.*)

editors and agent for the paper at New Salem. He contributed articles, and his speeches beginning in 1838—were first published in it, including his speeches at Peoria on October 16, 1854 and at Springfield on June 16 ("House Divided") and July 17, 1858. The *Journal* has been indexed through 1860, and is a very useful tool in the study of Lincoln and the city in which he lived.

The *Illinois State Register*, a Democratic paper, came to Springfield in 1839 when the state government offices were removed to the new capital city. A file of this paper, complete to date except for 1859, is invaluable for a study of Lincoln's political opponents, especially Stephen A. Douglas. Charles H. Lanphier, editor (1845-1863), was Douglas' intimate friend.

Files of the *Illinois Gazette* (Lacon), the *DeWitt Courier* and *Central Transcript* (Clinton), the *Tazewell Whig* (Tremont), the *Jacksonville Illinoian* and the *Beardstown Gazette* are but a few of the newspapers useful to the Lincoln student. There are two sets of the 10,000 cards made by W.P.A. workers on mentions of Lincoln and his family to be found in Illinois newspapers, one set filed chronologically and the other by date under the name of the particular paper.

Several campaign newspapers contain much of interest, such as *Old Hickory* and *The Old Soldier* published in 1840. Lincoln was one of the five editors of the latter Whig sheet. There is a complete file (thirteen numbers) of the Cincinnati *Rail Splitter*, one of the rare campaign papers of 1860. Another unusual 1860 paper is *The Freeport Wide Awake* of which the Library has the last seven of the thirteen numbers published. There is also the Springfield *Lincoln Clarion* for July 17, 1860, the only known copy.

MEMORABILIA

Lincoln wrote his first inaugural address upon a discarded bookkeeper's desk on the third floor of his brother-in-law's dry goods store. Clark M. Smith had married Ann Maria Todd,

sister of Mary Todd Lincoln. Opening a store in 1852 in Springfield, he had prospered and counted the Lincolns among his good customers. The old five-foot-long desk has forty pigeonholes and ten stalls for ledgers and day books. The Library purchased the desk from Mrs. Minnie Smith Johnson, youngest child of the Smiths and Mary Todd Lincoln's only living niece. Flanking the desk is a bookcase from the Lincoln & Herndon law office.

In the Library's collection are Lincoln's shaving mirror, the original doorplates from his home and from the Springfield home of William H. Herndon. There is a pair of Lincoln's large chamois skin riding gloves, with a letter from Robert T. Lincoln to General Christopher C. Augur stating that he was sending the gloves in appreciation for Augur's sympathetic handling of arrangements at the time of the President's funeral in Washington.

Of great interest to children is Tad Lincoln's small model cannon with the note from the President to Captain John Dahlgren on October 14, 1862 granting permission for Tad to have the "little gun that he can not hurt himself with."

Two of the oil paintings of Lincoln on display in the Library were painted from sketches drawn from life—one by George H. Story, the other by William Coggsell. The Story portrait is a striking and colorful though glorified production. The Library also possesses a large number of prints, photographs and engravings. There are nine miniatures on ivory, eight of Lincoln and one of Mrs. Lincoln, by the late William Patterson. Painted by this skillful artist from photographs they are admired by all who view them.

Fifteen volumes from the library of William H. Herndon, law partner of Lincoln (1844-1861), along with his spectacles, are displayed in the Henry Horner-Lincoln room. Each volume has many notes in front and back in Herndon's clear hand. He improved on the indexes and inserted nineteen pages of comment on Lincoln's religion in one of the volumes. Of



THE HISTORICAL LIBRARY'S 1,000TH LINCOLN DOCUMENT

Governor William G. Stratton is shown receiving a document in Abraham Lincoln's handwriting which became the one-thousandth such paper in the collection of the Illinois State Historical Library. At the presentation ceremony which took place in the Governor's office in the Statehouse on October 2 are, left to right: Alfred Whital Stern, chairman of the board of trustees of the Library; King V. Hostick, Chicago autograph dealer who gave the paper to the people of Illinois; Governor Stratton; and Dr. Harry E. Pratt, Illinois State Historian. The document was a three-page decree in chancery which Lincoln filed in the Tazewell County Circuit Court on September 15, 1846.

particular interest is *The Life, Eulogy and Great Orations of Daniel Webster*, which is apparently the copy used by Lincoln in the preparation of his First Inaugural Address. Webster's reply to Hayne, delivered in the United States Senate

on January 26, 1830, was one of the four documents Lincoln asked Herndon to obtain for him, and it is in the volume with certain passages marked.

MICROFILM AND PHOTOSTATS

The Robert Todd Lincoln Collection of the Papers of Abraham Lincoln in the Library of Congress, which contains more than 18,000 items, has been put on ninety-nine reels of microfilm. These are in the Historical Library, as are fourteen reels of the correspondence and legal papers which compose the William H. Herndon-Jesse W. Weik Collection; thirty-six reels of the papers of Jeremiah S. Black, secretary of state under President Buchanan, five reels of which deal with the Civil War period; and twenty-three reels of the papers of United States Senator Lyman Trumbull. The originals of these collections are in the Library of Congress.

Three reels of microfilm from the National Archives include treaties, telegrams, and proclamations of Lincoln's White House years. Microfilm of the account book of Jacob and George Gideon, public printers in Washington, shows the large number of speeches, his own and others, which Lincoln purchased in his first session in Congress, 1847-1848.

There are photostats of the correspondence in the Herndon-Weik Collection mentioned above, also of Lincoln's one-year service on the board of trustees (1839-1840) of the town of Springfield.

The Historical Library has continued to collect photostats of Lincoln documents as they have become known, having added over one hundred since the photostatic collection of the Abraham Lincoln Association was acquired.

SANDBURG'S PRIVATE PRINTINGS

BY ALAN JENKINS

IN THE introduction to his *Complete Poems* (1950), Carl Sandburg, referring to his early writing, mentions "two slim books—not worth later reprint." The reference is to *In Reckless Ecstasy* (1904) and *Incidentals* (ca. 1905). These pocket-size booklets were printed by his former teacher, Professor Philip Green Wright of Lombard College, Galesburg, Illinois, on a press in the basement of his home. They have paper covers and bear the imprint of The Asgard Press. *In Reckless Ecstasy* has thirty-nine buff-colored pages fastened with ribbon. The bulk of its writing is prose; there are eighteen poems, about half in free verse. The author dedicates his "endeavors at self-expression" to his mother in a tender tribute. *Incidentals*, similarly printed and bound, consists of thirty-two pages of philosophical jottings, with a picture of Atropos, drawn by Alton Packard, platform cartoonist, on the cover. In 1904 Wright also printed and bound for Sandburg a pocket-size four-page essay called *The Complaint of a Rose*.

These three booklets are now rare, a copy of *In Reckless Ecstasy* selling in the summer of 1952 for \$500. A copy of each, owned by the Carl Sandburg Association, is kept in the memorial birthplace in Galesburg.

Alan Jenkins, former minister of the Central Congregational Church, Galesburg, Illinois, is now located in Royal Oak, Michigan. He presided at the homecoming celebration honoring Carl Sandburg which was held in Galesburg on January 9, 1953. He is writing a biography of the Lincoln author, poet and folk-singer.

Sandburg's juvenilia are full of the bubbling self-awareness of youth (in 1904 he was twenty-six); "I" rules the noun-roost. Here and there his expressions of self-belief and life-intent are somewhat theatrical, Hubbard-style. But there is also self-questioning, the ability to reflect that "It may be I will some day look back on these incidentals as youthful impertinences." And there are numerous reflections, simply and forcefully phrased, that are as good keys to Sandburg now as then. Witness these in *Incidentals*:

... to get anywhere in art or business or science you have to experiment and be willing to shake hands with a mistake once a week. . . .

There are ten men in me and I do not know or understand one of them.
[See the poem "Wilderness" in *Cornhuskers*.]

In *In Reckless Ecstasy* young Sandburg unfurled banners which he has continued to march under—

Give me a stout heart to face entrenched error, and a tender feeling for all the despised, rejected, and forsaken of mankind.

Make me a good mixer among people, one who always passes along the Good Word.

May the potencies of song and laughter abide with me forever.

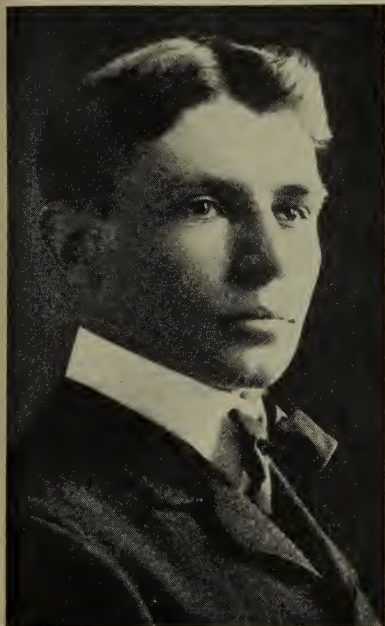
All three private printings reflect a rapidly maturing social (likewise class) consciousness. The main piece here is an essay called "Millville" in *In Reckless Ecstasy*. In the glass-making industry of Millville, New Jersey, the roving Sandburg found "carryin'-in boys," average age about fourteen, cruelly exploited. He pictured them as "grimy, wiry, scrawny, stunted." He noted that "Millville by night would have delighted Whistler who loved gloom and mist and wild shadows." But it was the human tragedy that struck home with Sandburg. His glass-town essay points to his political activity in later years as an organizer for the Social-Democratic Party and then as a "New Deal" independent; it foreshadows the deep concern for social and economic reform that pulsates through *The People, Yes* (1936).

The life-shaping power of circumstance, implied in the "Millville" sketch, is the message of *The Complaint of a Rose*. In this brief prose piece Sandburg tells of a rose that withers and dies because its bush has been deprived of adequate sun and moisture by a neighboring plant. The dying rose says to

a sister flower on the other bush:

"The forces that would have impelled me upward were robbed by the forces that lifted you where you are."

However, implied Sandburg in *Incidentals*, it is possible for man to rise above the plant level; he is not necessarily bound by environmental factors. Man has the capacity to effect change in his world, starting with himself. "Only dead men are satisfied," wrote Sandburg, "live men are rebels, at work changing things from the old to the new." A chief instrument of change is the spoken or written word. "Books and pamphlets are the methods of civilization," he stated hopefully (having also



CARL SANDBURG IN 1901
(From photograph owned
by Alan Jenkins)

written "Life is more vast and strange than anything written about it—words are only incidentals!"), then added "Let us spill more ink and less blood!"

Among Sandburg's published prayers (there are at least six, the best known being "Prayers of Steel" in *Cornhuskers*) "Prayer for Everyday" in *Incidentals* is notable for its graphic, realistic phrasing of the kind of naturalistic monism which young Sandburg, probably influenced by Emerson, Whitman and Elbert Hubbard, had come to accept:

O Thou great Spirit of Truth! whose filaments pervade and interfuse all things. Thou whose energy vibrates in passing trolley-car and far-swung planet, Thou art neither of the East nor West nor North nor South. Thou art here and everywhere, in all times and all places.

The hot-house rose belongs to Thee and the back-yard cabbage is also Thine. From Thy hands came the blue-bottle flies that buzz on the window-pane and by Thy hands took shape sun, moon, star, and the worlds that throb and glow in measureless space. Thou art in the pulsations of our brains and the desires of our hearts. Across and through the whole scheme of things as they are, Thy plan and law is at work. For the simple and common things around us, like sunlight and dew and rain and voices and faces, we are thankful.

To Thee belong all the children of men. Give them faith and simplicity in their dealings with each other. Grant that they look on each other as comrades, ready for laughter and love and work and good-will and belief. Amen.

In both *Incidentals* and *In Reckless Ecstasy* there is reference to Lincoln. Sandburg wrote in the earlier booklet: "The capability for good fooling is an attribute of every beloved master among men, and in proof history presents no more sublime and touching instance than Abraham Lincoln." A like tribute, relating humor to poise, appears in *Incidentals*. This fits with other indications that by 1904-1905 Sandburg was well along in his deep attachment to the man who, twenty years before the poet's birth in Galesburg, had debated with Douglas in that prairie town.

The puerile verses of *In Reckless Ecstasy* are interesting only insofar as they contrast vividly with the authentic poetry of the later Sandburg. A moment's comparison of lines like "Complacency, how hast thou chained thy thousands!" and other *In Reckless Ecstasy* verses with any random page of *Chicago Poems* shows how astronomically far Sandburg went as a poet in one decade.

Of greater interest both to Sandburg readers and to students of prosody is the fact that in *In Reckless Ecstasy* the author was trying to phrase his conception of poetry. He quoted Marie Corelli to the effect that "it is often the case that ideas which cannot be stated in direct words may be brought home by 'reckless ecstasies of language.'" He refer-

red to Browning, Emerson, Shakespeare, Koheleth and Jesus as expert users of such language. These men, he implied, were poets, their words sounding depths of life beyond the reach of intellect. "There are thoughts," summarized Sandburg, "beyond the reach of words, and these the seers transmit only by lurid splashes of verbiage that cannot be gauged by common sense, but must be sought out by the spirit of sublimity in us." Then followed his personal testimony: "I try to express myself sensibly, but if that fails, I will use the reckless ecstasy." Young Sandburg was, of course, getting at the Whitmanian thesis that poetry is a verbal mode of experience-sharing arising out of primitive feeling, that it is not the opposite of prose (as the two terms are generally understood) but the most direct language-transcript of experience possible to man, and that the feeling involved may generate forms of expression that defy logic, including the logic of conventional verse structure. Many years later in the thirty-eight cryptic "Definitions of Poetry" in *Good Morning, America* (1926), Sandburg rang the metaphorical changes on the view of poetry suggested in *In Reckless Ecstasy*:

Poetry is the journal of a sea animal living on land, wanting to fly in the air.

Poetry is a sliver of the moon lost in the belly of a golden frog.

Poetry is the opening and closing of a door, leaving those who look through to guess about what is seen during a moment.

Poetry is the achievement of the synthesis of hyacinths and biscuits.

For Sandburg poetry is man's ancient, valiant attempt to express the inexpressible, to hold up a broken mirror to fact as registered in feeling.

In a foreword to *In Reckless Ecstasy* Professor Wright recalled his 1898 impressions of Sandburg as an entering student. "I do not remember that at that time," wrote Wright, "there was anything particularly distinguished in his appearance; anything, that is, to suggest incipient genius. He looked like one of the 'proletariat' rather than one of the 'intellectuals'".

. . . . Just a rough-featured, healthy boy, possessed of indomitable energy and buoyancy of spirit." Moralized Wright: "But it is just these rough-featured boys whose faces take on with the years the impress of that indefinable quality we call character. I suppose the 'god within' can achieve more lasting results with granite and bronze than with clay and putty." "He had seen," continued Wright, "a good deal of the world; some of it, I believe, from the underside of box-cars, traveling via the Gorky line to literary fame." Concerning the pieces which he, as editor-printer, had selected for this first Sandburg booklet, Wright declared: "To me there is in them something of the quality of a Norse saga: inchoate force and virility, unconscious kinship of the soul with all that is beautiful and terrible in nature, and above all the delightful bloom and freshness and spontaneous enthusiasm of expression of one who is witnessing the sunrise for the first time."

The literary strength and promise of Sandburg's juvenilia is in the prose. Often firm, always vigorous and colorful, its rhythms are more pleasing than are those of the poems. In a word, Sandburg's early prose is more poetic than his early verse. Moreover the diction of the prose is less mannered, words like "meseems" and "ere" clogging (at least to the modern ear) some of the verses. Sandburg had yet to make up his mind fully to do away with rhyme, had yet to find himself as a poet.

Sandburg's private printings show an ambitious, idealistic nature, a questing, reflective mind, and a social consciousness readied for quick, explosive protest. There are flashes of incisive writing. Wrote Browning in *The Ring and the Book* (Section 1, lines 768-69):

A spirit laughs and leaps through every limb,
And lights my eye, and lifts me by the hair.

His juvenilia reveal that some laughing, leaping spirit was lighting the eye and lifting by his black hair young Carl Sandburg.

BEGINNING OF THE ROCK ISLAND LINES

BY DWIGHT L. AGNEW

ROCK ISLAND, ILLINOIS, and Davenport, Iowa, are situated opposite each other at the foot of the upper rapids of the Mississippi River. In 1845 products of industry were shipped largely by way of New Orleans, and needed supplies came by way of the Mississippi. To these towns this dependence on the river was unsatisfactory in many ways: by early December the hard freezes came and from then until April the channel was likely to be choked with ice; during the next four months the river was navigable, but the arrival of cargo was still uncertain; then from August to December the river was so low that the "Lower Rapids," extending from Montrose to Keokuk, below Rock Island, were a hazard. In October, 1853, an editor of the *Chicago Democratic Press* wrote from Rock Island:

There is at present a small steamer running between the upper and lower rapids, leaving each place every other day. Passengers going down or coming up on her, are taken around the lower rapids in carriages and wagons. Indeed, during seasons of extreme low water, almost all the merchandise brought up, and produce taken down, is either "lightered" over the rapids in scows and barges, or carted around by teams.¹

¹ [John L. Scripps], *Rock Island and Its Surroundings in 1853* (Chicago, 1854), 4. The name of the author of this pamphlet is not given but presumably it was Scripps, founder of the *Democratic Press* in 1852. His visit to Rock Island in 1853 is mentioned in several issues of the *Davenport Gazette*.

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A citizen of Davenport wrote that the "Mails were infrequent and vexatious in their arrivals."²

With these things in mind the more ambitious citizens of Rock Island and Davenport began to talk of railroads and to plan for their early appearance. Ambrose C. Fulton of Davenport recalled a meeting in a frame schoolhouse in 1845 in which he foretold that persons present would live to see the Atlantic and Pacific railroad.³ At Colonel George Davenport's home on the island of Rock Island a meeting was held in June, 1845, at which were present several men who were to be instrumental in building the first section of the Rock Island Lines. From Davenport came Fulton, Judge James Grant and Ebenezer Cook; from Rock Island, Lemuel Andrews and P. A. Whittaker; from Joliet, Nelson D. Elwood; and from Moline, Charles Atkinson. Advantages of the route proposed from Rock Island to the Illinois River were discussed and proposals made.⁴ On October 30, 1845, the *Davenport Gazette* announced a meeting on internal improvements to be held in Rock Island. The editor urged the citizens to forward the cause of the proposed railroad, projected to cross at Davenport on a "line which nature has drawn and the track which nature has graded."

More than a year elapsed before evidence of something besides talk appeared. On January 7, 1847, the *Davenport Gazette* reported a meeting at Rock Island for the "purpose of taking into consideration the propriety of petitioning the Legislature of Illinois, now in session, for the grant of a charter authorizing a company to construct a railroad from that place to intersect with the Illinois and Michigan canal." Prominent citizens of Davenport met in that city on January 30 and February 2 to deliberate on the possibilities of a

² Franc B. Wilkie, *Davenport Past and Present* (Davenport, Iowa, 1858), 108.

³ Ambrose C. Fulton, *A Portion of Life's Voyage* (Davenport, Iowa, 1902), 17.

⁴ Frank J. Nevins, *Seventy Years of Service: From Grant to Gorman* (Chicago, 1922), 5.

Pacific railroad project, and Iowa Citians were similarly engaged.⁵

Hopes of the railroad promoters were partially realized in a charter granted by the General Assembly of Illinois. Entitled "An Act to incorporate the Rock Island and La Salle Railroad company," the charter permitted the formation of a corporation to build a railroad from Rock Island to the termination of the Illinois and Michigan Canal. The capital stock, to be issued in one hundred dollar shares, was to total \$300,000, an amount which might be increased later to a sum not to exceed \$1,000,000. Commissioners were appointed to receive subscriptions, books for which were to be opened within twelve months. After the requisite amount of stock had been subscribed, the commissioners were to provide for the election of nine directors.⁶

Nearly everyone in the area to be affected by the proposed railroad was in favor of its construction, but there were few who were both able and willing to subscribe. The task of selling the idea fell to the lot of the few men most interested. The *Davenport Gazette* of March 4, 1847, pointed out that the railroad would add twenty cents a bushel to the price of wheat and would increase the value of real estate by one hundred per cent. "Let our Motto be *agitate, agitate, agitate*, until the object is accomplished." Fulton recalls that in 1849 or 1850 he made a trip to Chicago where he was directed to "Long John" Wentworth as one who might be interested. Fulton reported him as saying: "Tut, tut, young man, you must be insane! a railroad west would not pay for the grease for the wheels." Disgusted with Chicago, Fulton "departed from the then muddy town, without even a symptom of encouragement."⁷ Back in Davenport and the neighboring towns, he had better response—but only after holding numerous meet-

⁵ *Davenport Gazette*, Feb. 4, 1847.

⁶ *Private Laws of Illinois*, 1847, pp. 139-41.

⁷ Fulton, *Life's Voyage*, 21. Wentworth was interested financially in the Galena and Chicago Union Railroad.

ings, writing articles for the *Gazette*, and in general doing exactly what the latter had advised: agitating.

Books were opened at various places along the line of the proposed railroad on January 22, 1848. In anticipation the *Ottawa Free Trader* of January 14 expressed the opinion that the proposed line would "be the thoroughfare for the trade of Iowa and indeed the whole upper Mississippi country with the east." There was no great rush to subscribe. Delegates from various counties met on March 21, 1850, to report on the sale of stock. The 2,263 shares sold fell far short of the 3,000 necessary to make up the \$300,000 required.⁸ However, by November 12 the requisite number had been taken. At a meeting of the stockholders in Cambridge, Henry County, Illinois, the books revealed that Rock Island County had subscribed \$75,800, Bureau County \$50,400, Henry County \$20,000, La Salle County \$25,000, and Scott County (Iowa) \$128,300. Directors were elected and took over control of the company from the commissioners.⁹

A few days later the directors elected officers and adopted by-laws. Officers and directors had been selected from the counties along the line. Energetic men such as James Grant, Ebenezer Cook, Napoleon B. Buford and J. W. Allen were chosen. It is unlikely that these men, with limited resources, could successfully carry through the project, but eastern capital could hardly be persuaded to contribute unless the proposed line were extended to Chicago and a connection made with lines from the east. Up to 1850 the idea of an extended railroad line to operate independently of water routes was only slowly taking shape. Railroads connected centers of population or one kind of water transportation to another. They were built to supplement means of water transportation, not to supplant them. Any extended line was a combination of local lines, not an integrated system. Strong canal interests

⁸ *Ibid.*, 21.

⁹ *Chicago Daily Democrat*, Nov. 20, 1850; Nevins, *Seventy Years*, 7.

naturally opposed any rival system which might act independently, and faith and capital were both lacking on the part of the railroads.

The proposal for the Rock Island and La Salle Railroad was not at first opposed by the Illinois and Michigan Canal interests. On the contrary, such a railroad would act as a feeder for the canal. Tying in at the juncture of the canal and the head of navigation on the Illinois River it would draw the produce of western Illinois and Iowa to Chicago by way of the canal. But now came a proposal to extend the railroad to Chicago. The canal interests bitterly opposed such a plan, for a railroad to Chicago from La Salle would closely parallel the canal and would therefore be a direct competitor.

The directors of the Rock Island and La Salle Railroad, at their first meeting in November, 1850, petitioned the Illinois legislature for an extension to Chicago.¹⁰ The struggle in the Assembly for the new charter was led by Senator William Reddick of Ottawa. Success came—but at considerable cost. The charter granted early in 1851 contained provisions representing concessions to the canal interests that would have crippled the railroad from the start. Recognizing this, the canal and railroad interests opposed to the Rock Island road permitted passage of the charter.

While the bill was under debate in the legislature, towns along the canal feared that the railroad might be forced to construct its line at some distance from the canal. The citizens of Morris passed a resolution advocating that the railroad be built near the canal, "not eight or ten miles from it." It was pointed out that the canal was ice-bound in winter and that it was useless anyway when a break occurred, as had recently been the case.¹¹

The bill provided that the Chicago and Rock Island Railroad was to be continued to Chicago by way of Ottawa and

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ *Ottawa Free Trader*, Feb. 8, 1851.

Joliet. Capital could be increased not to exceed three million dollars. The number of directors was increased from nine to thirteen. After an additional subscription of stock to the amount of \$300,000 had been made, a new board was to be elected. Assets of the old corporation were to be transferred to the new.

The railroad was to pay the trustees of the canal "upon all freight transported upon said railroad, the same rates of toll that are now or hereafter shall be fixed upon like articles of freight carried through the canal." This meant that the railroad would have to charge higher rates than the canal to make any profit. The stringency of the provision was somewhat alleviated by certain conditions: (1) the railroad would not have to pay on livestock shipments; (2) payments were to be made only while the canal was open to navigation; (3) freight was to be free from tolls if it came from or was destined for a point beyond a line "twenty miles west of the southern termination of the canal"; (4) tolls were to cease as soon as the indebtedness on the canal had been paid; and (5) taxes on railroad property were to be paid out of the tolls paid to the canal fund.¹²

A conditional clause of the charter unexpectedly gave the railroad a loophole by which payment to the canal was avoided. Since the railroad was to parallel the canal, it was provided that the canal trustees were to grant to the railroad company right of way through canal lands. If the trustees refused to comply before the first Monday in June after passage of the act, the railroad company could build without any restrictions in relation to tolls. The canal trustees thought they saw in these provisions the means of completely obstructing the railroad. They were given—what was for them—unfortunate legal advice to the effect that the right of eminent domain was inapplicable to land already granted for public use. In other words, they were advised that if right of way were re-

¹² *Private Laws of Illinois*, 1851, pp. 47-49.

fused the railroad, the latter would have to build its line outside the canal right of way or not build at all. At the expiration of the time in which the canal was to grant the right of way, the railroad company instituted successful condemnation proceedings, and the courts refused the canal an injunction restraining the construction through canal lands.¹³ The canal's refusal to grant a right of way annulled the toll provisions of the act, and the railroad company was thus relieved of conditions which might well have strangled it in infancy.

The charter of the new Chicago and Rock Island Railroad was approved on February 7, 1851, and the directors of the old company promptly notified the stockholders that an election for the thirteen directors of the new company was to be held on April 8 at Peru, Illinois.¹⁴ Then began another promotion campaign for the sale of the additional authorized stock. Judge Grant, the president of the old company, visited towns along the proposed line, and public meetings were held to enlist interest and subscriptions. Securing money support was easier now. A road with an eastern terminus in the rapidly growing city of Chicago had a better chance for success. Then, too, ambitious towns along the proposed route expected to reap a harvest of increased business. The *Joliet Signal* of March 4, 1851, in announcing the coming subscription campaign, urged:

The people of this county should subscribe liberally to a work, which would prove of such vast advantage to them as this road. That it would become one of the most important thoroughfares in the Union, may be inferred from the fact that it would be the only direct route of communication between the "father of waters" and the eastern cities. Those owning property anywhere in the vicinity of the line have a two-fold object to induce them to subscribe—an increase in the value of their property by the construction of the road and a sure prospect of receiving a profitable percentage on the money invested. The shares are low, and every one who can spare the means should become a stockholder. We learn that \$50,000 of stock

¹³ James W. Putnam, *The Illinois and Michigan Canal* (Chicago, 1918), 110.

¹⁴ *Joliet Signal*, March 25, 1851.

have already been taken at Ottawa, and we trust that our town will not be out done. A better charter could not have been asked of our legislature.

At the Will County courthouse in Joliet on February 27, Judge Grant addressed a meeting, setting forth "the feasibility and profitableness of the route, enforcing with clearness and lucid argument the necessity of speedy and energetic action of the citizens along the route to insure its early completion." He pointed out the importance of the railroad as a connecting link in the line of railroads from the Atlantic Ocean to the Mississippi River. Joel A. Matteson, instrumental in securing an amendment to the original charter and builder of much of the line from Chicago to Joliet, was appointed head of a committee to solicit subscriptions.¹⁵

Meanwhile Peru, farther west on the proposed route, expressed enthusiasm. "This road gains daily in public estimation. Its utility, feasibility, practicability . . . are becoming more and more apparent. It is the line that the eye would trace on the map as the railroad thoroughfare between the Mississippi and the lakes—between the east and the west."¹⁶ The new board of directors was elected and plans were soon under way for surveys and actual construction. As was customary, directors were chosen from as many points on the route as was possible. In commenting on the new board the *Joliet Signal* of April 15 hailed with satisfaction the election of a local businessman:

Our fellow-townsmen, N. D. Elwood, Esq., has been chosen one of the Directors, and also Secretary of the Board. A first rate selection. Mr. Elwood's thorough business habits and qualifications render him a fit person for the station assigned him. Besides, being a large property holder here, while he will faithfully discharge his duty to the Company, he will watch over the interests of this town.

Late in June the directors met in Chicago to discuss construction contracts. Convinced that local capital would be

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, March 4, 1851.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, March 25, 1851, quoting *Peru Telegraph*.

insufficient to finance the venture they invited representatives of eastern capital to present their estimates. They did so on the first part of the line from Chicago to Peru where surveys had been completed. Floods and bad weather had held up surveys from Peru to Rock Island so that estimates could not be accepted for the entire route, but the executive committee was to meet at Rome, New York, on August 10 to consider bids.¹⁷ "Public opinion is becoming more and more inlisted in favor of the Rock Island and Chicago Railroad," said the *Joliet Signal* on June 17. "Capitalists at the East are aware of the importance of this road, and there is no question that the means will be forthcoming to speed its early completion."

Engineers were "busily engaged in preparing plans and estimates" during August.¹⁸ In September news came by telegraph that a contract had been signed with Henry Farnam and Joseph Sheffield for construction of the whole line. "All doubts in regard to the prosecution and completion of this important thoroughfare are now removed," said the *Signal* of September 6. "The men who have taken the contract are heavy capitalists, and the work will not lag for the want of means."

In December, the stockholders of the new road, now bright with prospects, met at the Tremont House on the corner of Dearborn and South Water streets, Chicago, to elect officers and directors. The list of men selected reveals a wide geographical range of interest in the new project. With the East furnishing the greater share of the capital, it was not surprising that the new president was John B. Jervis of New York. Isaac Cook, prominent in Chicago politics, was elected director and assistant treasurer. Detroit was represented by Edwin C. Litchfield, and Springfield, Massachusetts, by George Bliss. Most of the officers and directors, however, were from along the line of the railroad—from Joliet, Peru, Indiantown, Moline, Rock Island and Davenport.¹⁹ Grant of Davenport,

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, July 8, 1851, quoting *La Salle County Democrat*.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, Aug. 12, 1851.

¹⁹ Nevins, *Seventy Years*, 8. Indiantown is now Tiskilwa.

president under the old charter, was now involved in politics (the next year he was elected to the Iowa legislature) and became vice-president of the company.²⁰

The most sanguine railroad promoter would hardly have ventured to predict that three years from the time a charter was approved for the Chicago and Rock Island Railroad, rails would be laid from Chicago one hundred and eighty miles west to the bank of the Mississippi River. The railroad building of the two previous decades gave no promise that such a feat was possible. That the job was accomplished was due to the energy, persistence and ability of two men willing to take a big risk—Sheffield and Farnam. They gambled four and a half million dollars on a project in the undeveloped West.

Joseph E. Sheffield was a Connecticut Yankee who had been lured south by a promise of better business opportunities. He settled in Mobile, Alabama, and entered the cotton trade, later turning to banking; and by the time he moved back to New Haven, Connecticut, in 1835, he was a wealthy man.²¹

In New Haven, Sheffield turned his energies and his wealth to the development of inland transportation. He built the Farmington Canal and a parallel railroad. Then he became interested in a projected railroad which was to extend from New Haven to New York. On these eastern enterprises he lost money, but he by no means lost faith in railroad development. He had bought a large farm—the Clybourne farm—near Chicago, and in 1850 he visited the West in company with Farnam.²²

In 1821, while Sheffield was making money in Mobile, Henry Farnam was applying for a job on a surveying crew at work on a section of the Erie Canal west of Rochester, New York. The position of camp cook was open and Farnam accepted. Opportunity came quickly; he moved rapidly from

²⁰ Benjamin F. Gue, *History of Iowa* (New York, 1903), IV: 107-8.

²¹ *Dictionary of American Biography*.

²² Henry W. Farnam, "Joseph Earl Sheffield," *Papers of the New Haven Colony Historical Society*, VII (New Haven, 1908), 70-78.

cook to rodman to assistant engineer.²³ By the time Sheffield came back to New Haven, Farnam had gained experience in canal and railroad engineering. The two men were associated in the Farmington project in which Sheffield invested much money and Farnam much anxiety.²⁴

William B. Ogden, president of the Galena and Chicago Union when that railroad made its initial run, was prominent in railway enterprises in Illinois in the mid-century. Hoping to interest eastern capital in his project, Ogden invited Farnam to Chicago for a visit.²⁵ At Ogden's home Farnam met Judge Grant and several other men who were engaged in enlisting sufficient capital to start their railroad project from Rock Island to La Salle.²⁶ Farnam looked over the proposed route. Impressed by its possibilities he persuaded Sheffield to accompany him on another reconnaissance.²⁷ In October, 1850, they traveled to Rock Island, the terminus of a railroad which had existed for more than three years only in the minds of its promoters. Sheffield and Farnam were interested, but they felt that the enterprise would hardly be worth the investment unless the charter could be changed to designate Chicago as the eastern terminus. If this were done, they agreed to contract for the construction.²⁸ Apparently as a result of this visit the directors of the Rock Island and La Salle petitioned the legislature for their new charter.

Chicago was buzzing with talk of railroad projects in 1850. Two railroads were poised in southwestern Michigan ready to round the curve of Lake Michigan through northern Indiana to Chicago. Each, however, sought a monopoly of the prospective traffic with the East and by obstructive tactics in the legislatures of Illinois and Indiana and in the city

²³ Henry W. Farnam, *Memoir of Henry Farnam* (New Haven, Conn., 1889), 15-16.

²⁴ Farnam, "Joseph Earl Sheffield," 76-78.

²⁵ *Memoir of Henry Farnam*, 35.

²⁶ Nevins, *Seventy Years*, 7.

²⁷ *Memoir of Henry Farnam*, 36.

²⁸ Farnam, "Joseph Earl Sheffield," 78.

council of Chicago prevented for some time the realization of the hopes of the other. The Michigan Central with its western terminus at New Buffalo, Michigan, was offering service twice daily from Chicago to the East—by steamer to New Buffalo, rail to Detroit, steamer to Buffalo, New York, and finally by rail to Albany.²⁹ The same men interested in the Michigan Central had heavy interests in the Galena and Chicago Union. Their cause was argued in the Illinois legislature by Philip Maxwell and Thomas Dyer, and was brought before the public in the columns of Long John Wentworth's *Chicago Democrat*.³⁰ The Michigan Southern project was supported by an equally strong group which had a right of way across Indiana. Neither road would permit the other to obtain a right of way across Illinois to Chicago.³¹

In this impasse the two roads made agreements with lines which already had charters for railroads in Illinois. In each case the arrangement was made easy by the fact that the Michigan Central was also tied up financially with the Illinois Central, and the Michigan Southern was supported by some of the same men who were back of the Chicago and Rock Island project. In the latter case George Bliss of Springfield, Massachusetts, Edwin C. Litchfield of Detroit, and John Stryker of New York, were financially concerned in both enterprises. John B. Jervis, soon to be president of the Chicago and Rock Island, was chief engineer of the Michigan Southern. Norman B. Judd, then in the Illinois Senate, was soon to be chief of counsel for the Chicago and Rock Island.³²

In 1850 the Michigan Southern was one hundred and seventy-seven miles from Chicago and its financial condition was not such as to promise an early completion. In December, Jervis wrote to Farnam offering him the position of superin-

²⁹ Fayette B. Shaw, "Transportation in the Development of Joliet and Will County," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, XXX (April, 1937), 119-20.

³⁰ Bessie L. Pierce, *A History of Chicago* (New York, 1940), II: 55-56.

³¹ Shaw, "Transportation in the Development of Joliet," 120.

³² Pierce, *History of Chicago*, II: 56-57.

tendent of the portion of the road already in operation. Farnam declined but suggested they talk the matter over when Jarvis came to New York. "The upshot of their conversation, when they met," wrote Henry W. Farnam, "seems to have been that my father, while declining to superintend the part of the road that was then built, said that he was quite willing to build that portion which was yet unfinished, and furnish the capital for doing it."³³ Farnam and Sheffield had in mind a connection between the Michigan Southern and the Rock Island. Thus the two men built the first line of railroad to enter Chicago from the East. Before the line was completed in February, 1852, Sheffield and Farnam had begun fulfilling their contract with the Chicago and Rock Island. The tracks of the latter were built rapidly out of Chicago. By the terms of its charter, the Rock Island was forbidden to build "a branch or branches from their road to any point east of it, for the purpose of connecting with railroads that now are or may be built in the state of Indiana, between the termination of the Illinois and Michigan canal, at the Illinois river, and the city of Chicago."³⁴

The Michigan Southern could not as yet obtain a right of way through Illinois, but in June, 1851, under the name of the Michigan Southern and Indiana Northern it signed a contract with the Rock Island by which the former entered Chicago under the latter's charter, with complete commercial connections.³⁵ Late that summer the Michigan Southern obtained an injunction to keep the Michigan Central from building across Indiana, and thus delayed its construction. By using the Rock Island tracks the Southern sent its first train into Chicago on February 20, 1852, three months ahead of its rival.³⁶

The struggle between the railroad factions was viewed with alarm by towns along the proposed route of the Chicago

³³ *Memoir of Henry Farnam*, 37-38.

³⁴ *Private Laws of Illinois*, 1851, p. 50.

³⁵ Shaw, "Transportation in the Development of Joliet," 120.

³⁶ Pierce, *History of Chicago*, II: 57.

and Rock Island. The *Joliet Signal* of March 11, 1851 stated:

It is a fact well known to many citizens of this place, that certain capitalists of Chicago have rather "thrown cold water" on the project of connecting Joliet with that city by means of a Railroad. They intimate that the canal is all sufficient for our purposes, and that the people here should be content with what they already have.

Now, we feel warranted in assuring these Chicago gentlemen, that Joliet is to have the advantage of a Railroad without their aid. Our citizens are moving in the matter, and we have reason to believe will subscribe liberally to bring so desirable an object about.

Later, the Joliet paper remarked about the hostility of Chicago newspapers toward the Chicago and Rock Island project. Wentworth's paper in particular was criticized. The *Democrat* was lined up with the Galena and Chicago Union and the Aurora branch projected to continue south:

The fact is, that the entire tirade is kept up to prevent Eastern capitalists from investing means in this road, and if possible to induce them to subscribe to the stock of the zigzag route by Chicago and Aurora.³⁷

Not all the Chicago papers were hostile. In June, 1851, the *Ottawa Free Trader* remarked that those newspapers were letting up on their opposition.³⁸ The *Rock Island Argus*, in commenting on arrangements made by agents of the Rock Island, said, "This is a road in which our citizens should take pride, and do all they can to aid and advance; it opens to us a rich, fertile country, and will pour into our lap an immense amount of produce of every variety."³⁹

The much-maligned *Democrat* on May 31 had denied that it was unfriendly to the Rock Island Road:

There is no community so deeply interested in having an immediate connection opened to Rock Island as Chicago. The same may also be said of Joliet, Ottawa, Peru, etc., etc. As a citizen of Chicago and as an editor of a paper deriving its support mainly from Chicago, we cannot but be alive to every thing that touches its interests in any way. And we deny that its interests are antagonist to those of any other place in Illinois.

³⁷ *Joliet Signal*, May 13, 1851.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, June 10, 1851, quoting *Ottawa Free Trader*.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, July 1, 1851, quoting *Rock Island Argus*.

There followed in the same issue a defense of the position taken by the paper in advocating that the proposed Rock Island road be started from the western end. The argument was long but likely did little to convince Joliet and Ottawa people that the *Democrat* was not obstructing their favorite project.

The contract which Sheffield and Farnam signed with the Chicago and Rock Island company called for rather extensive resources. The initial amount of \$3,967,668 put the cost per mile at about \$22,000. For prairie mileage this figure was high. The contractors, however, in addition to constructing the road and laying track, were responsible for building stations, roundhouses and machine shops, and furnishing the rolling stock. The latter was to consist of eight 16-ton locomotives, ten 18-ton locomotives, twelve passenger cars, one hundred and fifty freight cars, one hundred platform cars, fifty gravel cars and eight handcars.⁴⁰

For all this outlay the contractors received only about one-eighth of their pay in cash—a half million dollars in \$25,000 installments. Two million dollars was to be paid in seven per cent first mortgage bonds, and the remainder of \$1,487,688 was to be turned over to the contractors in the form of ten per cent interest-bearing stock certificates payable in stock on the completion of the road. The only items of expense borne directly by the company were such incidentals as right of way, station grounds and part of the fencing.⁴¹

Sheffield assumed sole financial responsibility while Farnam spent most of his time in the West in personal charge of the engineering and construction. Farnam's work kept him constantly on the road—now in New York, now in Chicago, but more often at the end of track. There he pushed lax subcontractors, encouraged faith in the road, and made estimates of materials needed. Sheffield, at the eastern office,

⁴⁰ George B. McDonald, *A Brief History of the Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific Railway* (Northwestern University Seminars in Economics, Finance and Administration, Vol. XXII, no. 11, Evanston, Ill., 1908), 4.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*; Farnam, "Joseph Earl Sheffield," Appendix I: 96.

purchased rolling stock, encouraged the sale of Rock Island securities, and arranged for the transport of thousands of tons of rails from England. On the tenth of every month Farnam received from Sheffield the cash to pay subcontractors. On the Rock Island contract they split profits equally, the one risking his reputation and health in addition to what money he had, the other risking the greater share of the money involved.⁴² When final settlement was made on the Rock Island accounts in 1855, Sheffield wrote to Farnam:

In closing these accounts of millions between us, it must be a pleasing reflection to you, as it is to me, that we have worked together with mutual confidence, faith and zeal, and that we amicably close them with the same kind feeling, high respect, and confidence with which we commenced, some dozen years ago.⁴³

The contractors sublet sections of the road for grading in such quantities as could be handled by local contractors. One of the early subcontractors was Joel A. Matteson, a prominent businessman and wool manufacturer of Joliet. His contract called for grading and laying track from Blue Island west a distance of thirty-five miles. Sixty-pound rails were brought to Joliet on the canal.⁴⁴

Early in 1852 Matteson was held up by bad weather, but needed only a few weeks of better working conditions to complete the first twenty-six miles of grading. Farther west the contractor for the division between the Du Page River and Marseilles was "prosecuting the work on his contract with vigor."⁴⁵ Near Chicago a contractor from that city, Henry Fuller, started work on his section of nine miles on January 29. With some two hundred men he commenced laying track from the junction where the Rock Island and the Michigan Southern and Indiana Northern joined to enter Chicago on common tracks.⁴⁶

⁴² *Ibid.*, 96-98.

⁴³ *Memoir of Henry Farnam*, 32.

⁴⁴ Shaw, "Transportation in the Development of Joliet," 122-23.

⁴⁵ *Chicago Daily Democrat*, Jan. 22, 1852.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, Jan. 29, 1852.

Work progressed through the spring and summer to such an extent that a year after Sheffield and Farnam took over—by September, 1852—the railroad company could say in a “Statement of Conditions and Prospects”:

The contractors have re-let the grading and masonry of the road from Chicago to Ottawa, 85 miles, and will soon conclude contracts for forty miles more, as far as Indiantown. The bridge over Rock River, the heaviest work on the whole line, has also been let to subcontractors. Engagements have also been made for the iron for the whole road; ten thousand tons, sufficient to finish it to Peru, to be delivered in 1852, and the balance the year following. The track is already laid as far as the junction with the Indiana road, six miles from our depot in Chicago, and about eight hundred men are laboring on the line between that point and Ottawa.⁴⁷

Soon after this “Statement” was issued, the line between Chicago and Joliet was completed. Work on the track was finished on October 9, and the road was opened to the public on October 18.⁴⁸

Fortunately, the builders of the Rock Island had guessed correctly that the Stephenson gauge would become standard for America and had adopted it from the very beginning. When the first locomotives for the Rock Island were brought from the East, the use of a patent arrangement of variable-gauge trucks was necessary to transport them from the factory over railroads having different gauges.

In spite of high duty, and in spite of growing sentiment in favor of the use of American iron products, most of the iron for the rails of this country was still coming from England. The first rails of the Rock Island road were “manufactured by the Ebbervale Company of London, and were brought to New York largely as ballast in empty sailing vessels. Here they were transferred to smaller boats and brought to Chicago by way of the Erie Canal and Great Lakes.”⁴⁹

The completion of the Chicago and Rock Island to Joliet

⁴⁷ “Statement of Conditions and Prospects of the Chicago and Rock Island Railroad,” Sept. 1852, in a John Crerar Library volume having the binder’s title, *Chicago Rock Island and Pacific Railroad Report*.

⁴⁸ Shaw, “Transportation in the Development of Joliet,” 123.

⁴⁹ Nevins, *Seventy Years*, 11.

was the occasion for the first of many celebrations along the line. The train which pulled out of Chicago on the morning of October 10, 1852, bore little resemblance to the "Rockets" which now pause only momentarily at the Joliet station in their dash westward. That early train was pulled, however, by an engine called the "Rocket," and it caused much more of a sensation than does any modern streamliner. The locomotive and its six new coaches gave many citizens their first glimpse of the latest mode of travel. Among the children released from school for the occasion was a girl of thirteen who recalled, some seventy years later, her impression of the first train she ever saw. She and her father rode back to Chicago to attend a party at the Sherman House. "It seemed like a palace to us then, the plush seats, and the varnished woodwork seemed the finest things we had ever seen."⁵⁰

Indicative of the changing times was the fact that the engineer and the conductor on that first train had but recently been employed in water transportation. James Lendabarker, who piloted the "Rocket," had been an engineer on one of the lake boats. N. W. Wheeler, the conductor, had been a packet captain on the Illinois and Michigan Canal.⁵¹ An increasing number of pilots and captains were to desert their jobs for posts on the more rapid means of transportation which inevitably absorbed the passenger trade. In December, the citizens of Joliet were given a free ride to Chicago:

The number who availed themselves of the liberality of Mr. F. [Farnam] was about seven hundred. Though we had not the pleasure of being among the number we learn that everything passed off as it should. The day was fine and the cars pleasantly arranged, which in connection with the goodly attendance of ladies, rendered the occasion joyous and delightful.⁵²

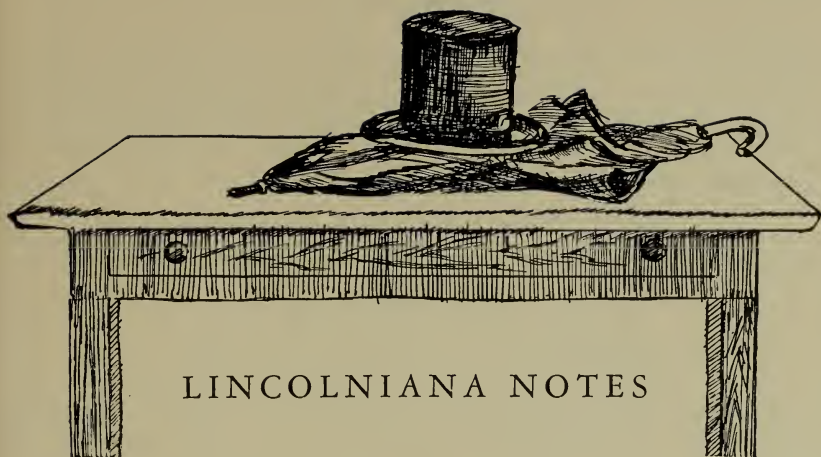
Indeed, as the *Joliet Signal* had predicted, the quiet of the valleys was now "broken by the snort of the iron-horse."⁵³

⁵⁰ *Joliet Herald-News*, Oct. 10, 1922.

⁵¹ Nevins, *Seventy Years*, 12.

⁵² *Joliet Signal*, Dec. 21, 1852.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, Sept. 23, 1851.



LINCOLNIANA NOTES

DR. SAMUEL A. MUDD PAPERS

Several valuable papers associated with Dr. Samuel A. Mudd, the physician who set John Wilkes Booth's broken leg during his flight following the assassination of Lincoln, have been presented to the Illinois State Historical Library. They were a gift of Dr. Karl A. Meyer of Chicago who purchased them at the auction of the Oliver R. Barrett collection.

Dr. Mudd was sentenced to life imprisonment by the military commission that tried the Booth conspirators and in July, 1865 was sent to Fort Jefferson, Dry Tortugas Island, about one hundred miles southwest of the Florida mainland in the Gulf of Mexico. There are two letters written by the doctor to his wife, Sarah Frances Dyer Mudd (November 7, 1867 and January 1, 1868), and a letter about the doctor from Jeremiah Dyer to his sister, Mrs. Mudd (April 12, 1867). Also there is the original of the pardon of Dr. Mudd signed by President Andrew Johnson and Secretary of State William H. Seward (February 8, 1869).

Dr. Mudd's story is told in *The Life of Dr. Samuel A. Mudd* written by his daughter Nettie Mudd Monroe (New York and Washington, 1906). Her book includes some 150

letters, but not the particular ones mentioned above. They were published, however, in Carl Sandburg's *Lincoln Collector: The Story of the Oliver R. Barrett Lincoln Collection* (New York, 1949, pp. 285-89).

The pardon is six pages in length, each page is $10\frac{3}{4}$ by $15\frac{1}{2}$ inches in size, and it is written in a copyist's longhand.

ANDREW JOHNSON,

*President of the United States of America,
To all to whom these Presents shall come, Greeting:*

Whereas, on the twenty ninth day of June in the year 1865, Dr. Samuel A. Mudd was by the judgment of a Military Commission, convened and holden at the City of Washington, in part convicted, and in part acquitted, of the specification wherein he was inculpated in the charge for the trial of which said Military Commission was so convened and held, and which specification in its principal allegation against him, was and is in the words and figures following, to wit: "And in further prosecution of said conspiracy, the said Samuel A. Mudd did, at Washington City, and within the Military Department and military lines aforesaid, on or before the sixth day of March, A.D. 1865, and on divers other days and times between that day and the twentieth day of April, A.D. 1865, advise, encourage, receive, entertain, harbor and conceal, aid and assist, the said John Wilkes Booth, David E. Herold, Lewis Payne, John H. Surratt, Michael O'Laughlin, George A. Atzerodt, Mary E. Surratt and Samuel Arnold, and their confederates, with knowledge of the murderous and traitorous conspiracy aforesaid, and with intent to aid, abet, and assist them in the execution thereof, and in escaping from justice after the murder of the said Abraham Lincoln, in pursuance of said conspiracy in manner aforesaid;"

And whereas, upon a consideration and examination of the record of said trial and conviction and of the evidence given at said trial, I am satisfied that the guilt found by the said judgment against the said Samuel A. Mudd was of the receiving, entertaining, harboring, and concealing John Wilkes Booth and David E. Herold, with the intent to aid, abet and assist them in escaping from justice after the assassination of the late President of the United States, and not of any other or greater participation or complicity in said abominable crime;

And whereas, it is represented to me by intelligent and respectable members of the medical profession, that the circumstances of the surgical aid to the escaping assassin and the imputed concealment of his flight are deserving of a lenient construction as within the obligations of professional duty, and thus inadequate evidence of a guilty sympathy with the crime or the criminal;

And whereas, in other respects the evidence, imputing such guilty sympathy or purpose of aid in defeat of justice, leaves room for uncertainty

as to the true measure and nature of the complicity of the said Samuel A. Mudd, in the attempted escape of said assassins;

And whereas, the sentence imposed by said Military Commission upon the said Samuel A. Mudd was that he be imprisoned at hard labor for life, and the confinement under such sentence was directed to be had in the military prison at Dry Tortugas, Florida, and the said prisoner has been hitherto, and now is, suffering the infliction of such sentence;

And whereas, upon occasion of the prevalence of the yellow fever at that military station, and the death by that pestilence of the medical officer of the Post, the said Samuel A. Mudd devoted himself to the care and the cure of the sick, and interposed his courage and his skill to protect the garrison, otherwise without adequate medical aid, from peril and alarm, and thus, as the officers and men unite in testifying, saved many valuable lives and earned the admiration and the gratitude of all who observed or experienced his generous and faithful service to humanity;

And whereas, the surviving families and friends of the Surgeon and other officers who were the victims of the pestilence earnestly present their dying testimony to the conspicuous merit of Dr. Mudd's conduct, and their own sense of obligation to him and Lieut., Zabriskie and two hundred and ninety nine non commissioned officers and privates stationed at the Dry Tortugas have united in presenting to my attention the praiseworthy action of the prisoner and in petitioning for his pardon;

And whereas, the Medical Society of Harford County, Maryland, of which he was an associate, have petitioned for his pardon, and thirty nine members of the Senate and House of Representatives of the Congress of the United States have also requested his pardon:

Now, therefore, be it known that I, Andrew Johnson, President of the United States of America, in consideration of the premises, divers other good and sufficient reasons me thereunto moving, do hereby grant to the said Dr. Samuel A. Mudd a full and unconditional pardon.

In testimony whereof, I have hereunto signed my name and caused the Seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the City of Washington, this Eighth day of February, A.D. [Seal] 1869, and of the Independence of the United States the Ninety third.

ANDREW JOHNSON

By the President:

WILLIAM H. SEWARD,
SECRETARY OF STATE.

Another unpublished letter of Dr. Mudd was given to the Historical Library in 1949 by George P. Wentworth of Pensacola, Florida. Dr. Mudd made an unsuccessful attempt to escape soon after his arrival at Fort Jefferson. His pencilled

note of apology to the commandant of the fort, Major George E. Wentworth, reads:

TO THE MAJOR COMMANDING

Sir,

I acknowledge to having acted contrary to my own judgment & honor, in my attempted escape. I assure you it was more from the impulse of the moment & with the hope of speedily seeing my disconsolate wife & four little infants. Mr. Kelly did not secrete me aboard, but, promised to do so only. Before I was detected I had made up my mind to return if I could do so without being observed by the guards. I am truly ashamed of my conduct, & if I am restored again to the freedom of the Fort & former position, no cause shall arise to create your displeasure, & I shall always counsel subordination to the ruling authorities.

By complying or relieving me from my present humble locality—you will merit the gratitude of your humble servant, a devoted wife & four dear little children. I do not complain of the punishment, but I feel that I have abused the kindness & confidence reposed, & would be glad exceedingly to comply with any other honorable acquirement [*sic*], whereby, I may be able to wash away, the folly of my weakness.

TRULY & RESPECTFULLY YRS&c

SAML. A MUDD

TO MAJ COMMANDING

SEPT 26TH. 1865

POSTSCRIPT TO "BLACK CODE" ARTICLE

A postscript can now be added to Charles M. Segal's article "Lincoln, Benjamin Jonas and the Black Code" in the Autumn issue of this *Journal*. The original "indenture of apprenticeship" paper of John Shelby, the Negro in the case, has been found among a group of similar papers recently examined at the Illinois State Historical Library. Although slavery was prohibited in Illinois at that time the "indenture of apprenticeship" agreement was extensively used.

Under terms of the document dated May 20, 1840, "John Shelby a boy of colour aged 9 years on the 9th. day of February 1840 . . . bound himself apprentice to Virgil Hickox of Sangamon county . . . to learn the art and mystery of common domestic labour." Hickox was a Springfield merchant and

one of the organizers of the Chicago & Alton Railroad, which he served for a number of years as superintendent. He was one of the three founders of Lincoln, Illinois.

The apprenticeship agreement stated until John Shelby attained the "full age of Twenty one years . . . the said apprentice his said master well and faithfully shall serve his lawful secrets and commands keep and obey. Hurt to his said master or his he shall not do nor suffer it to be done by others if in his power to prevent The goods of his said master he shall not embezzle waste or lend without his masters consent from the service of his said master he shall not absent himself without leave taverns alehouses Tippling shops or houses of ill fame he shall not frequent. Matrimony he shall not contract But in all things he shall well and faithfully demean himself towards his said master and all his as becomes an obedient faithful apprentice."

Hickox agreed to provide "good wholesome and sufficient meat, drink, washing lodging, and apparel suitable and proper for such an apprentice and needful medical attention in case of sickness and will cause him to be instructed in the best way and most approved manner of common domestic labour and will cause him to be taught to Read, and at the expiration of his term of service will give unto him a new Bible and two new suits of clothes suitable and proper for summer and winter wear, and will moreover give unto him eighty acres of land or in lieu thereof one hundred dollars in cash." John's father, Frank Shelby, gave his consent to the apprenticeship, and signed (with his mark) the paper along with the two principals.

On the basis of the date in this paper John Shelby was twenty-five years old when he ran afoul of the "black code" in New Orleans and would have been sold into slavery had he not been rescued by Abraham Lincoln and Benjamin F. Jonas.

The wording used in this apprenticeship paper was similar to others drawn up at that time. In the Historical Library

are two more involving other members of the Shelby family. One is practically identical with John Shelby's, and the other, dated July 5, 1832, omitted mention of the eighty acres of land. The usual form also said the apprentice would be "taught to Read, write and the groundworks of Arithmetic," but all except the "taught to Read" was deleted.

LINCOLN FAVORS AN OLD FRIEND

Lincoln received a letter in January, 1864 from Pierson Roll, a friend of his flatboating days, requesting the discharge of Joshua Jones, Roll's son-in-law. The President immediately granted the request, turning the letter over he wrote, "Let this man—Joshua Jones—be discharged."

Pierson Roll began farming seven miles northwest of Springfield in 1828, his farm lying along the Sangamon River opposite the village of Sangamo Town. Here in March, 1831, Lincoln, his stepbrother John D. Johnston, and his cousin John Hanks came to build a flatboat for Denton Offutt. John E. Roll, a cousin of Pierson, a lad of seventeen, made the pegs used in the construction. Today the sawmill and every vestige of Sangamo Town have disappeared.

Pierson Roll married Catherine Spencer in 1845, and they had thirteen children. The eldest, Margaret A. Roll, was born August 17, 1846, and she married Joshua Jones, six years her senior, on April 29, 1863. Jones had enrolled at Camp Butler, six miles northeast of Springfield, on August 12, 1862; he was mustered into service on September 18, as a private in Company C, 114th Regiment Illinois Infantry, commanded by Captain William A. Mallory. Company C was composed of men from Sangamon County and Captain Mallory lived within sight of Camp Butler. Jones deserted while on a sick furlough of twenty days granted November 8. The charge of desertion was removed by order of President Lincoln and Joshua Jones was honorably discharged as a private, to date

from November 28, 1862, the date of expiration of his sick furlough. Jones recovered from his illness and moved to a farm some three miles north of Sangamo Town.

Roll's letter with Lincoln's endorsement discharging Joshua Jones was recently acquired by the Illinois State Historical Library:

AT HOME JANUARY 21st. /64

PRESIDENT LINCOLN

SIR

I sent a letter to you some time since by the Hon^{ble} John T Stuart¹ and he sent the same up to you and knowing full well that letters that are sent up in that way never come into your sight, now never having applied to you or any former President for a favor the one I now ask is this Joshua Jones, Enlisted in Captain Mallorys Company 114 Regiment and was taken sick soon after remained so all winter and after his bodily health got good the disease fell in to his eyes and some time about the first of Aprile he married my oldest Daughter by my present Wife, and I was advised by some of my friends in town to take this course to have him discharged from the army and having known you for a number of years and I have asked this boon of you knowing full well that you will grant my wish by sending his discharge direct to me, Enpropria Personia,

PIERSON ROLL

PRESIDENT LINCOLN

[*Endorsement*]

Let this man—Joshua Jones—be discharged
Jan. 28, 1864

A. LINCOLN

LINCOLN SPOKE FROM THIS BALCONY

The house on the front cover of this issue of the *Journal* was the home of Abraham Lincoln's friend Dr. William Fithian at 116 Gilbert Street, Danville, Illinois. Lincoln stayed overnight here on September 21, 1858—three days after the

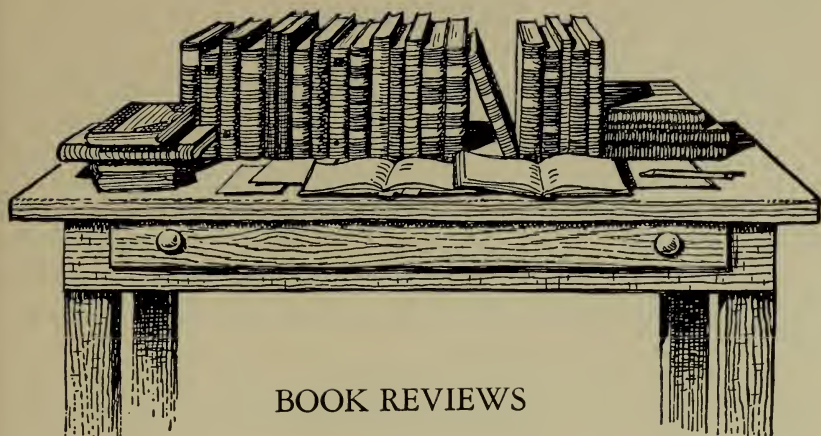
¹ John T. Stuart, law partner of Lincoln (1837-1841) and a member of the Thirty-eighth Congress, had probably taken Roll's letter when he went to Washington for the opening of the session on Dec. 7, 1863.

Lincoln-Douglas debate at Charleston. He was met at the railroad station by a large crowd which formed a procession around his open carriage and escorted him to the home. In response to loud calls from the crowd Lincoln made a brief, impromptu speech from the balcony on the south side of the house which can be seen at the left in the picture.

Lincoln acted as attorney for Dr. Fithian in several cases, and while President appointed him provost marshal of the then Seventh Congressional District. The doctor also served two terms as Illinois state senator and one as a state representative. The Fithian home, now owned and occupied by Mr. and Mrs. Joseph H. Barnhart, was built in the 1830's, according to John Drury's *Old Illinois Houses*. Mr. Barnhart, a former director of the Illinois State Historical Society, is preparing an article on Dr. Fithian and his house for publication.

NEW EDITION OF "HOME" BOOK

Through Lincoln's Door by Virginia Stuart Brown, custodian of the Lincoln Home in Springfield (1924-1953), has been revised. Corrections have been made and new material added—including two fine sketches of Mary and Abraham Lincoln. It is a delightful little seventy-nine-page book with its thirty-six drawings by the author and a dozen other illustrations.



BOOK REVIEWS

The Negro in the Civil War. By Benjamin Quarles. (Little, Brown and Company: Boston, 1953. Pp. 379. \$5.00.)

The book opens with a stirring account of the assault by the 54th Massachusetts, a regiment of Negro volunteers, on Battery Wagner near Fort Sumter in 1863. The bravery of these troops refuted the canard that the Negro would not fight for his liberty. Wealthy white men then offered to equip Negro regiments. However, for two years, the Negroes' offer of their services as soldiers was frowned upon. In September, 1861 the War Department had called on General John E. Wool at Fortress Monroe for "all Negro men capable of performing labor" to be sent to General McClellan to be "employed in the military works in this vicinity." There was truth in the assertion that "Whenever a Negro appeared with a shovel in his hands a white soldier took his gun and returned to the ranks."

Used freely in the Navy and in every other capacity around military establishments, wide use of the Negro as a soldier was as slow in coming as were the Emancipation Proclamation and the Thirteenth Amendment. This was in line with the affirmation that the war was being waged to maintain the supremacy of the Constitution and to preserve the Union, and not to overthrow or interfere with slavery.

Of special interest are the accounts of how the Negro in the South was kept in control during the war, how he managed his escape, his value as a forager, loyalty as body servants, and the efforts to provide work and schools for the mass of contrabands who came within the Union lines. Congress slowly gave recognition to policies which had grown out of the necessities of war. For example, on July 17, 1862, the Confiscation Act declared free

the slaves of all who were in rebellion, which produced one Negro's comment, "I was a slave, but I's free now, I's 'fiscated."

Quarles interestingly relates the efforts of the Negro to organize his fellows through groups such as the Contraband Relief Association. There are some details on Lincoln's fruitless efforts to colonize the free Negro and the slow, halting steps to the Emancipation Proclamation which made January 1, 1863, for the Negro "the most glorious day this nation has yet seen." Its results in certain areas of the South in terms of depopulation were expressed in the lines:

Laid down the shovel and the hoe,
And hung up the fiddle and the bow.

The author calls attention to Lincoln's reference to the value and valor of the Negro soldier in his famous "last stump speech" letter to James C. Conkling of Springfield on August 26, 1863. In this letter, now in the Illinois State Historical Library, Lincoln cautioned Conkling to read very slowly to the mass meeting of "unconditional Union-men":

I know as fully as one can know the opinions of others, that some of the commanders of our armies in the field, who have given us our most important successes, believe that the emancipation policy and the use of colored troops constitute the heaviest blow yet dealt to the rebellion, and that at least one of these important successes could not have been achieved when it was but for the aid of black soldiers. Among the commanders holding these views are some who never had any affinity with what is called abolitionism, or with republican party politics, but who hold them purely as military opinions.

Quarles' fifteen chapters conclude with a descriptive bibliography and a satisfactory index. This volume is recommended reading for anyone interested in the Negro as a soldier, in President Lincoln and the Emancipation Proclamation, or a new approach to the Civil War.

H. E. P.

Fabulous Chicago. By Emmett Dedmon. (Random House: New York, 1953. Pp. 359. \$5.00.)

It was Hinky Dink who said, "Chicago ain't no sissy town," and if he had lived to read Emmett Dedmon's story of his city he would have added, "and this ain't no sissy history." Alderman Michael Kenna would have loved it, and so would Long John Wentworth, Big Bill Thompson, Samuel Insull, Jane Addams, Mrs. Potter Palmer, General Alexander McClurg, Eugene Field, Marshall Field I and hundreds of others whose stories are woven into it.

In this first such book since Lloyd Lewis and Henry Justin Smith wrote

Chicago: The History of Its Reputation in 1929, Dedmon has brought the story up to date. He begins with the frontier town of 1837 when a New York writer reported "interesting women are in demand here," and the women are given their share of attention throughout the volume. Anecdotes and incidents about the great and not so great enliven nearly every page. There are more than 125 interesting illustrations, most of them from the collections of the Chicago Historical Society and the Newberry Library.

Although the dust jacket blurb calls this a "social history" it is much more than that. It is as complete and entertaining an account as the space will permit. The author has achieved a balance and proportion that are difficult with so complex a subject. He has not allowed himself to be carried away by any one topic. The first section of slightly more than a hundred pages takes the reader through the Great Fire of 1871. Two of its nine chapters are "The Little Giant and the Rail Splitter" and "The Civil War and the Chicago Conspiracy," and one concerns the arrival of the money-making Yankees. Another, titled "Long John and His Devils," is devoted to John Wentworth, who was the city's most colorful mayor, despite the claims of the Big Bill Thompson fans. The gamblers and their girls who flourished about the time of the Civil War are portrayed in "Everyone Comes Here: Anything Goes Here." Incidentally one of these women, "Irish Mollie" Cosgriff, went free after killing her gambler paramour, George Trussell, while another, "Gentle Annie" Stafford, "reputedly the fattest madame in town," took a rawhide whip to herd "Cap" Hyman, "boss of Randolph Street," into matrimony. The marriage coincided with the opening of their roadhouse and the event was called "the swellest show" ever.

After the Chicago fire Potter Palmer took the lead in rebuilding the city and his wife assumed the task of its social reconstruction. Their success stories dominate the second section of five chapters covering the next two decades. But the Palmers were forced to share the limelight with such visiting notables as Buffalo Bill, Sarah Bernhardt (and the man who followed her about from city to city exhibiting a whale which he advertised as "the enormous cetacean which Sarah Bernhardt killed by tearing out its whalebone for her corsets"), and Oscar Wilde, whom the newspapers ridiculed enthusiastically. Current also were such homegrown celebrities as saloon-keeper Mickey Finn, who concocted a way to immortalize his name; Mike McDonald, the city's boss gambler who controlled the mayor and hired the chief of police; and Waterford Jack, "the millionaire streetwalker." This was the period, too, of the building of the crystal palace of the Interstate Industrial Expositions and the Auditorium Theater, and the labor unrest climaxed by the Haymarket bombing.

The World's Columbian Exposition and the Pullman Strike were the

most spectacular events of the two decades, 1890-1910, which are covered in the half-dozen chapters of the third section, "The Spirit of Democracy." Some of the more lasting benefits of the period included the opening of the University of Chicago, the Art Institute, and Armour Institute which was later to become the Illinois Institute of Technology. For diversion the city had the trial and triumphs of Mrs. Leslie Carter and the careers of those Lords and Ladies of the Levee, Bathhouse John and Hinky Dink and the Everleigh Sisters.

Four chapters, titled "The Inheritance," and an epilogue bring the story up to date. Here are the Century of Progress Exposition and chapters on the careers of Ganna Walska and Harold McCormick, Samuel Insull and Al Capone, with Big Bill Thompson and others of the past forty years appearing briefly for good measure.

Among the book's few lapses in accuracy one is particularly puzzling: On page 162, where final disposition is being made of the Haymarket rioters, the hanging of four is reported along with the suicide of the fifth, and then comes this sentence, "Schwab and Fielden had their sentences commuted to life imprisonment by Governor Richard Oglesby." No mention is made of the history-making pardons of these two men by Governor John P. Altgeld, although page 162 appears under Altgeld's name in the index.

Dedmon has a feeling for and sympathy with his adopted home town that few writers acquire. He has learned his multi-faceted subject through a decade or more in several branches of Chicago newspaper work. At present he is assistant Sunday editor of the *Sun-Times* but has been a reporter, rewrite man, literary editor and drama critic. His earlier book, *Duty to Live*, was a war novel written during the nearly two years he was a prisoner of war in Germany—he was navigation officer on a bomber shot down in 1943 en route to Hanover.

H. F. R.

Lincoln in Caricature. By Rufus Rockwell Wilson. Introduction by R. Gerald McMurtry. (Horizon Press: New York, 1953. Pp. 327. \$6.50.)

In this volume are reproductions of 163 cartoons, appearing from June, 1860 when Lincoln was the Republican nominee for the presidency to his death in April, 1865. The title and location of first publication is noted under each cartoon. All are full page (8½ by 10½ inches) with the facing left-hand page carrying the origin and story. In most cases the text gives sufficient background information to lend meaning to the cartoon.

In 1903 Wilson issued *Lincoln in Caricature* (32 plates) in an edition of 165 copies, and a special edition of fifteen copies on quality paper. In

1945 it was enlarged to 165 poster cartoons and drawings in an edition of 600 copies. One-fourth of the illustrations appeared in Albert Shaw's two volumes on Abraham Lincoln (1929).

Lincoln was easily cartooned, and the bitterness engendered by the Civil War made him a most savagely caricatured figure. Many of the cartoons by Louis Maurer issued by Currier & Ives had large distribution.

English opposition to the President came forth in the drawings of John Tenniel in *Punch*, and in the London *Fun* the tone was invariably critical. Better treatment was meted out in the American publication *Vanity Fair*. *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* and *Harper's Weekly* provide many of the best cartoons in the book.

The reprinted preface by the late Rufus Rockwell Wilson—and the introduction by R. Gerald McMurtry written especially for this 1953 edition—should be studied for a better understanding of the text. There is a list of plates but no index. Both printing and binding lack some of the qualities of fine book making, and it is not a "magnificently printed volume," as advertised.

H. E. P.

Three Rivers South: The Story of Young Abe Lincoln. By Virginia S. Eifert. (Dodd, Mead & Company: New York, 1953. Pp. 176. \$2.95.)

This is primarily a fictionized account of Lincoln's flatboat trip down the Sangamon, the Illinois and the Mississippi rivers in 1831 for Denton Offutt. Several chapters are devoted to the building of the flatboat at Sangamo Town, seven miles northwest of Springfield. The meagerness of historical data after the launching prompted the author to invent situations, some of which seem inconsistent with references which Lincoln did make later to this trip, and with his known attitudes at that period of his life.

The author has the flatboat and cargo saved on one occasion only because the leader of a gang of thieves is a former acquaintance of Lincoln's grandfather—then forty-five years dead. Again, in New Orleans Abe's fists save his stepbrother at "The Swamp," a gambling den. One day is spent on the site of Jackson's victory over Pakenham in 1815.

Madame Henri Duchesne, a fictional character whom Lincoln had supposedly met on his previous trip, invites him to live at her house on this second trip. A few days later, Abe sees Caleb—a slave stowaway on their flatboat—and his wife and child on the auction block in New Orleans. Madame Duchesne buys the slaves, using Lincoln's last twenty dollars to complete the price, and frees them. Lincoln would hardly have omitted an incident such as this from his later recollections of the trip. After a month

in New Orleans, Offutt and his two employees go up the Mississippi on the *New Orleans Belle*.

Into the tale are woven many interesting facts about nature, a field in which the author has long specialized. Although the book is not designed for any particular age group, the thirteen full-page illustrations by Thomas Hart Benton will appeal to juvenile readers.

H. E. P.

America First. The Battle Against Intervention, 1940-1941. By Wayne S. Cole. (University of Wisconsin Press: Madison, 1953. Pp. 305. \$3.50.)

Perhaps future historians will want to write the story of "America First" from the perspective of time. But it is doubtful if any will achieve greater detachment or write with less bias than Wayne S. Cole. He also has had the co-operation of the leaders of the organization and permission to use the materials in their files. Furthermore the heat of antagonism to the America First Committee is still in the air. The accusations against the group are still fresh in the minds of many.

Cole gives the evidence pro and con. Of the top leadership the sincerity and patriotism cannot be questioned. But it is also true that the membership of around 800,000 included many who had an ax to grind and whose allegiance was not to America first. Was the organization the "Nazi transmission belt?" Was it anti-Semitic? The reader will have to form his own conclusions.

The author is a member of the department of history at the University of Arkansas. He was an air force pilot during World War II, and received his doctorate from the University of Wisconsin in 1951. His book is the result of five years of research. The volume is well documented and has a bibliography and index.

S. A. W.

Abraham Lincoln. By Jeannette Covert Nolan. (Julian Messner, Inc.: New York, 1953. Pp. 182. \$2.75.)

This biography for grade school students is by an author of eleven other children's books. It is readable and lively, well printed and illustrated, and has a satisfactory index. It cannot be recommended, however, because it is replete with inaccuracies. Several of the author's sources have been superseded by more accurate accounts. The proof reading is below standard and the publisher has not met his responsibility for an accurate historical background.

A few samples will illustrate the type of errors: Menton for Mentor, Macon for Mason, Kirkland for Kirkham, Volunteers and not the Illinois militia were called to the Black Hawk War, the Sauks were not "raiding, burning, scalping"; Lincoln had not met Stephen T. Logan in 1832, nor did Lincoln borrow law books from him. Lincoln did not meet Speed in Vandalia, nor did he go to Kentucky with him in the spring of 1841. Lincoln was nominated for Congress in 1846 not 1837; he went to Congress in the autumn of 1847 not 1846, and made more than one speech, and lived at the Sprigg boarding house, not Spriggs. Thousands of Illinois troops were not killed, nor "more thousands wounded" in the Mexican War.

H. E. P.

Guide to the Manuscript Collections in the Library of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society. By Elizabeth C. Biggert. (Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society: Columbus, 1953. Pp. 153. \$1.50 paper, \$2.50 cloth.)

Guide to the Manuscript Collections in the William L. Clements Library. Second edition. Compiled by William S. Ewing. (Clements Library: Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1953. Pp. 548. \$4.00.)

Publication of these two manuscript listings by large libraries in nearby states will be welcomed by all students of American history.

The Ohio *Guide* lists 1,128 collections and some that may interest Illinoisans are the manuscript of the *Autobiography of Peter Cartwright, the Backwoods Preacher*; the Civil War diary of an unknown soldier, probably from Bloomington, Illinois; the papers of Benjamin Lundy, editor of the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, an abolitionist newspaper published at Hennepin; Colonel John P. Sanderson's letter-book reports on the "Order of American Knights" in Illinois, Indiana and Missouri; William C. Whitlock's journal of a journey made from Virginia to Union County, Illinois, in 1823; four letters of Frances E. Willard; and four regarding McKendree College (1856-1858) at Lebanon.

Of interest to students of Lincolniana are the papers of Thomas D. Jones, the sculptor who made a bust of Lincoln in Springfield in 1860; Lincoln's letter to Secretary of War Stanton on December 26, 1862; James R. Morris' eyewitness account of the assassination of Lincoln, and letters of Edward P. Doherty, one of the captors of John Wilkes Booth.

This second edition of the Clements Library *Guide* lists 304 collections, 132 more than were in the guide compiled by Howard H. Peckham, published in 1942. Of special interest to Illinoisans are the Owen Lovejoy papers; a shorthand letter of James Tanner on the assassination and death of Lincoln;

and the papers of Josiah Harmar concerning activities against the Indians in the Northwest Territory of which Illinois was a part. Prominent Illinoisans whose letters are noted in the Index include Abraham and Robert T. Lincoln, Stephen A. Hurlbut, Benjamin Lundy, Sidney Breese, Harriet Monroe, Benjamin M. Prentiss, John A. Rawlins and James Grant Wilson.

Clements Library is notable for its Revolutionary War material which includes, among others, the papers of Lord George Germain, Lieutenant Generals Thomas Gage and Sir Henry Clinton, and Major General Nathanael Greene.

Each collection of manuscripts is briefly described as to size, important subjects and period covered, how acquired, followed by the names of the writers of all the letters and documents in the collection. For more complete descriptions of many of the earlier acquisitions the reader is referred to the Peckham volume. The 229-page "Index of Names" lists full names, identifying titles, birth and death dates or the date when the person "flourished." This guide is a handy tool, invaluable to anyone doing research, and the Clements Library is to be commended on the completion of so large a task.

The Gulf, Mobile and Ohio. By James Hutton Lemly. (Richard D. Irwin, Inc.: Homewood, Illinois, 1953. Pp. 347. \$5.00.)

The Gulf, Mobile and Ohio is the youngest and one of the healthiest railroad systems in the country. As recently as 1920, however, it had only 409 miles of track, practically all of it in the state of Mississippi where its main source of business was the lumber mills. Since then it has grown to 2,800 miles of main line reaching from Chicago to Mobile and New Orleans, and to Kansas City on the west and Birmingham and Montgomery, Alabama, on the east.

This book is the *Indiana University School of Business Study No. 36* and its author is assistant professor of business administration at the University of Georgia. Although its main concern is with transactions of the past thirty years it does contain much of the history of its predecessor lines. The Alton Railroad had accumulated a full century of history when it was merged with the G. M. & O. in 1947. The outlines of this story are given here. The St. Louis and Cairo Railroad was one of the few narrow-gauge lines in Illinois until 1886 when it was acquired by the Mobile and Ohio and changed to standard gauge. The latter road was merged with the Gulf, Mobile and Northern, which then became the G. M. & O. of today.

This railroad success story is also the story of the man who was principally responsible for it: Isaac B. Tigrett, Jackson, Tennessee banker. He was elected president of the road in 1920 and is now chairman of the board of directors.

H. F. R.



NEWS AND COMMENT

FIFTY-FOURTH ANNUAL MEETING

J. Ward Barnes, assistant principal of the Eldorado Township High School and director of the Saline County Historical Society and of the Illinois State Historical Society, was elected president of the State Society at the annual meeting in Mattoon and Charleston, October 9-10. Harry E. Pratt of Springfield, State Historian in charge of the Illinois State Historical Library, was re-elected secretary-treasurer.

New directors of the Society, elected for three-year terms, were: Delyte W. Morris, president of Southern Illinois University, Carbondale; David Davis, attorney and Illinois state senator, Bloomington; George M. Irwin, wholesale paper company executive, Quincy; Miss Ernestine Jenison, co-editor of the *Beacon-News*, Paris; and Charles H. Coleman, head of the social science department at Eastern Illinois State College, Charleston. Ralph G. Newman of Oak Park, proprietor of the Abraham Lincoln Book Shop of Chicago and at New Salem State Park, was elected for one year to complete the term of Ray A. Billington of Evanston, resigned.

David V. Felts, Decatur; Mrs. Harry L. Meyer, Alton; Glenn H. Seymour, Charleston; and James T. Hickey, Elkhart, were re-elected vice-presidents of the Society. Newly-elected vice-presidents were: Arthur F. Symond, LaSalle; Mrs. Theodore C. Pease, Urbana; Virginia Carroll, Galena; Ralph E. Francis, Kankakee; and Alexander Summers, Mattoon.

Under the able general chairmanship of Alexander Summers the program at Mattoon was arranged by Emily Dole Oblinger and at Charleston by Dr. Coleman and their aides. A large number at the Historical Workshop Friday morning heard a discussion of the problems of local historical societies by Mrs. Edna Williams (Quincy and Adams County), James T. Hickey (Logan County) and Alice Applegate (Aurora), and a report on the Junior His-

torian program by its new director, Elwin W. Sigmund. In the afternoon members of the Mattoon Historical Society reviewed significant events of local history: R. Harvey Wright spoke on "The Coming of the Railroad"; Mrs. Paul Kizer, "General U. S. Grant in the City of Mattoon"; Alice Van Meter, "Copperhead Influences in Coles County During the Civil War"; and Fred Grant, president of the Mattoon Society, "Mattoon's Famous Street Fairs." Other enjoyable features of the afternoon's program were folk dancing by Mattoon school pupils under the direction of Mrs. Dorothy Lanphier, and a tour of the General Electric Company's flash bulb plant, one of two such plants in the United States. The social hour at the Hotel U. S. Grant, meeting headquarters, with its punch bowl refreshment sponsored by the Mattoon Society, was well attended. At the annual dinner author MacKinlay Kantor spoke entertainingly on "Not All Historical Fiction Is Fiction."

The tour of Coles County Lincoln landmarks on Saturday morning was well organized. The crowd appreciated the brief informative talks given by Dr. Coleman at the Shiloh Cemetery, Lincoln Log Cabin State Park, the Moore Home and Charleston Courthouse, and by Dr. Glenn H. Seymour at the Lincoln-Douglas marker in Charleston. The commentaries by Coleman, Seymour and Summers on the buses en route were informative, as were the booklets on Sarah Bush Lincoln by Dr. Coleman, and on highlights of Coles County history and the points visited on the tour (with three maps) prepared by Dr. Coleman and distributed by Eastern Illinois State College. The 246 registrants also received copies of Dr. Coleman's fifty-year history of the college through the courtesy of President Robert G. Buzzard.

The meeting ended with a luncheon at Douglas Hall on the Eastern Illinois campus at Charleston, and a talk by Dr. William J. Petersen, superintendent of the State Historical Society of Iowa, on "Tall Tales of the Mississippi."

Enjoyment of the tour was enhanced by the ideal weather; the coffee and doughnuts served at the Lincoln Log Cabin Park, and apples provided on the busses; and by the beauty of the three new buildings—the Burgess-Osborne Memorial Auditorium at Mattoon, Douglas Hall and the Mary J. Booth Library at Eastern Illinois—in which the meetings were held.

Carbondale was selected by the directors as the site for the 1954 Spring Tour of the Society. The annual meeting next fall will be held at Vandalia.

ADDITIONAL CENTENNIALS

To the eighteen Illinois towns listed in the *Autumn Journal* as celebrating their centennials in 1953 should be added Morris, Harrisburg, Havana and Orion.

Governor William G. Stratton attended the celebration in Morris, his home town, which was held on September 25-27. Along with the centennial the town held its fiftieth annual Corn Show.

Harrisburg also had a combination celebration, on October 8-10—the city's centennial and the fiftieth anniversary of the Harrisburg Township High School. A feature of the program was the unveiling of a life-size portrait of the late Harry Taylor who helped to found the high school and served as its principal until his retirement in 1946. The painting was the work of George Carr of Harrisburg.

Havana celebrated the centennial of its incorporation on September 5-7 with the Chicago and Illinois Midland Railroad joining in the festivities because its predecessor, the Illinois River Railroad, was authorized by the legislature in 1853. The C. & I. M. had on exhibit a giant steam locomotive, a 70-ton gondola car and a caboose. Other features of the celebration were an outdoor pageant, community square dance, window exhibits of antiques, a two-hour parade and a hot-air balloon ascension and parachute drop.

Orion held its celebration on September 25-26. For its first fourteen years the town was named Deanington. Historical souvenir envelopes were issued picturing a plat of the original town along with a portrait of Charles Dean, the founder, and a store which he operated. *A History of Orion, Illinois* was published by Wilbur W. Anderson and Kenneth M. Norcross, with the former writing the nineteenth century section and the latter the twentieth century part of the 100-page book.

In connection with the Annawan celebration on September 4-5, which was listed in the *Autumn Journal*, mention was not made of the centennial history. This is a handsome book of 136 large pages (8¼ by 11 inches) containing more than 350 photographs.

RARE MAP OF SPRINGFIELD

The Illinois State Historical Library has been presented by Arnold Kugler, director of Oak Ridge Cemetery, a rare lithographed map of Springfield. Titled "Bird's Eye View of Springfield, Illinois," it is 28 by 36 inches in size, and was drawn by Augustus Koch. But neither the date nor the name of the lithographer is given. The drawing is in perspective so that each public building, church, house, and outbuilding can be identified. In attempting to fix a publication date it was observed that since 1872 the First Presbyterian Church has been at the location shown on the map and the home of former Governor Joel A. Matteson which also is shown, was burned on January 28, 1873—this would approximate the date as 1872. The artist has labeled fifty-seven of the several hundred buildings illustrated,

but there are many others that can be identified from their appearance and location. Among these are the homes of Ninian W. Edwards, Benjamin S. Edwards and Vachel Lindsay. Lincoln's home is identified as "Lincoln's Former Residence."

MORE CIVIL WAR CAMP NEWSPAPERS

Earle Lutz' article "The *Stars and Stripes* of Illinois Boys in Blue" in the Summer *Journal* has brought to light copies of Civil War camp newspapers which he did not list. Eleanor Weir Welch, director of libraries at the Illinois State Normal University, reports that the Milner Library has Vol. 1, nos. 1 through 8, December 21, 1861-February 12, 1862, of the *Normal Picket*, published at Ironton, Missouri, "by the boys" of the Thirty-third Illinois Volunteers. This regiment was from Normal, Illinois, made up of students and faculty of the University, and was commanded by Colonel Charles E. Hovey, the president. The Milner Library also has Vol. 1, no. 2, previously unknown, of the *Weekly Van-Guard*, organ of the Twenty-first Illinois, published at Ironton on January 28, 1862. Additional information on Civil War camp newspapers will be welcomed by Mr. Lutz.

LAY WREATH AT GRAVE OF GOVERNOR COLES

Edward Coles, second governor of Illinois, was honored on Labor Day by representatives of the National Urban League in ceremonies at his grave in Woodland Cemetery, Philadelphia. Sidney Williams, executive secretary of the Chicago Urban League, who was appointed by Governor William G. Stratton as Illinois' official representative, made a brief address and placed a wreath on the grave. Governor Coles was honored for his important part in keeping Illinois a free state. Hollyhocks were chosen for the wreath because of the legend that the seeds were first brought into Illinois by a slave girl who was given her freedom here.

GRAUE MILL COMPLETES ITS THIRD SEASON

The historic Graue Mill, near Hinsdale, completed its third season of operation this autumn. Since it was opened approximately 35,000 visitors have witnessed old-fashioned burr stone milling and have seen its three floors of exhibits of the 1852-1870 period. Also they have purchased more than 20,000 pounds of yellow cornmeal ground for demonstration purposes. The Mill, which is open from about May 15 to October 15 each year, is owned by the Forest Preserve District of DuPage County and is leased and operated on a non-profit basis by the DuPage Graue Mill Corporation. During

the past season visitors were registered from 162 Illinois communities, 45 states and 17 foreign countries.

F. Garvin Davenport, professor of history at Monmouth College, Monmouth, Illinois, has received a grant from the American History Research Center, for a study of scientific interests in Illinois, 1865-1900. He will welcome information leading to manuscripts, letters or other source material. Professor Davenport was the author of "The Pioneers of Monmouth College" which was published in the Spring, 1953 issue of this *Journal* and was a condensation from his book *Monmouth College, The First Hundred Years 1853-1953*.

ACTIVITIES OF LOCAL HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

The history of North Alton was discussed at the June meeting of the Alton Area Historical Society. Mrs. Harry L. Meyer read a paper which dealt with that area from its first settlement in 1817 to the present day. Several descendants of early settlers reminisced on events of long ago. Mrs. Alice Condit of Elsah read a paper written by Nell Tibbitt about the pioneer Tibbitt family of North Alton.

In September the topic was "Godfrey and Vicinity." Mrs. John F. Lemp gave a brief history of Monticello College and its founder, Captain Benjamin Godfrey. Mrs. Bert Waggoner read a paper on the Godfrey community which had been prepared by her late husband. Many old residents of Godfrey attended the meeting and recalled events and people of earlier days.

On October 11 the group met with the Madison County Historical Society in Alton.

The annual meeting of the West Side (Chicago) Historical Society was held at Legler Regional Branch Library on October 27. The program theme was "The Development of House and Street Lighting on the West Side." Mrs. Marie Mudra directed the Farragut High School Singing Group in songs that were popular "when grandma was young."

The Historical Society of Woodlawn (Chicago) met on October 9 in the Julia A. Baker Auditorium of the Woodlawn Regional Library. Mrs. Samuel N. Moore was in charge of the program and music. As the meeting fell on the sixtieth anniversary of Chicago Day at the World's Columbian

Exposition, the Library had arranged a display of pictures and souvenirs from the Society's historical collection.

The DuPage County Historical Society had an all-day tour of historic and scenic sites in York, Milton and Winfield townships on October 17. A picnic lunch was held at Herrick's Lake.

In November the group held a dinner meeting at Gary Memorial Church in Wheaton. This was followed by an address by Judge Win G. Knoch.

Officers of the Society are: H. A. Berens, president; Michael Kross, vice-president; Willis H. Milar, secretary; and Raleigh E. Klein, treasurer.

Officers of the Edwardsville Chapter of the Madison County Historical Society are: Mrs. I. O. West, president; Mrs. Louise Ahrens, vice-president; Mrs. Nina Ferguson, treasurer; Mrs. Julian Vallette, secretary; and Mrs. W. H. Morgan, program chairman.

At the group's May meeting Mrs. Houston Seals spoke on her hobby, "Historic Buttons and Dress Trimmings."

The Jefferson County Historical Society met on September 22 at the Casey Junior High School in Mt. Vernon. John W. Allen spoke on the wealth of historical lore to be found in southern Illinois. He cited many examples but dwelt in particular on the strange case of William Newby, who enlisted from White County at the outbreak of the Civil War in Company D, Fortieth Illinois Infantry. Newby, missing in action and later reported killed, apparently turned up in 1891. When he advanced his claim for a pension he was taken into custody and charged with an attempt to secure a government pension fraudulently. The case was finally decided in 1893 against Newby, whom government attorneys insisted was really Daniel Benton.

Plans for reorganization of the Jersey County Historical Society are under consideration. The society disbanded a few years ago, and its exhibits and files are stored on the third floor of the Chapman Building in Jerseyville.

Officers of the LaSalle County Historical Society elected on October 11 are: Mrs. Edward H. Carus, president; Mrs. Edgar Cook, vice-president; Dorothy Bieneman, secretary; and Mrs. Henry H. Uhlenhop, treasurer. Directors elected for three-year terms include: Mrs. Walter Chapman, Ray Hawley, C. C. Tisler, Horace Hickok and Mrs. Carus.

Hickok, a nephew of "Wild Bill," was the principal speaker at this meeting. He gave a history of the Hickok family from 1643 when it emigrated from Stratford, England. The group, which met at the Troy Grove Village Hall, voted to mimeograph Hickok's speech. The Society had 117 members in this, its first year of existence. Four meetings are held annually.

Charles H. Dorris was elected the first honorary director of the Madison County Historical Society at the group's annual meeting in Alton on October 11. Mr. Dorris, who is eighty-six, has been a director for more than twenty years and had declined re-election. Other directors chosen include: Don F. Lewis, Edmond W. Ellis, Harvey E. Dorsey and Irving Dilliard. Officers of the group are: Mr. Dorsey, president; Ella Tunnell, vice-president; Jessie E. Springer, secretary; and Mrs. Harry L. Meyer, treasurer.

Dr. David Andrew Weaver, president of Shurtleff College, spoke on the educational and political phases of John Mason Peck's career, and Mrs. F. J. Stobbs, a graduate of Shurtleff, discussed the religious phase. Howard Purcell, a great-great-grandson of Peck, and now a student at Shurtleff, sang "Abide With Me." John Mason Peck was the founder of Shurtleff College. Mrs. John F. Lemp of Alton planned the program, and Harry L. Meyer of Alton presided.

The Morgan County Historical Society held a dinner meeting at the Hotel Dunlap in Jacksonville on October 23. Miriam Russel spoke on the subject "When Park Street Was a Pasture."

Mark Keane, manager of Oak Park, addressed the Oak Park Historical Society on October 22 on "Management of the World's Largest Village." J. C. Miller spoke on his vacation trip to New England. A social hour was enjoyed after the program, which was held in the South Branch Library. Mrs. James Wilbur is president of the group.

The Historical Society of Quincy and Adams County held its fall open house on Sunday afternoon, October 4. More than 500 adults registered at the Society's historical building. A special attraction was an eighty-year-old, completely furnished doll house. The three-story house was made in Quincy for Laura Miller, daughter of the E. M. Millers. It has been given to the Historical Society by Mrs. Marea Blackford Fowler of Findlay, Ohio, the daughter of the original owner. The house is in perfect condition and furnished in Victorian style.

A meeting to discuss the organization of a Randolph County Historical Society was held in the Sparta Public Library on September 28. Kenneth Bradley was chairman of the meeting. Harry E. Pratt, secretary-treasurer of the State Society, spoke at a second meeting on October 27.

The Rockton Township Historical Society has received permission from the Winnebago County Forest Preserve commissioners to convert the old Stephen Mack house in Macktown Forest Preserve into a historical shrine. The Society, which now has 102 members, hopes to restore and furnish the house as it was in the 1840's.

The Swedish Historical Society of Rockford scheduled many noteworthy events for the fall and early winter season. A combined art and copper display was held at the Erlander Home Museum during October and November. Mrs. Agda Viker, a Chicago artist, showed her paintings, and a score or more of Rockford residents displayed copper articles. Mrs. Lydia Luhman Pedersen of Rockford showed her color motion pictures of Africa. Two concerts of Swedish songs were given by Hanser Lina Göransson in October. The Society was one of the sponsors of a lecture by Trygve Lie on November 6. The group also sponsors Swedish radio broadcasts every Sunday, 6:30 to 7:00 P.M., over Rockford station WROK.

Officers of the Wayne County Historical Society are: Wasson W. Lawrence, president; Loren Harris, vice-president; Lila L. Stonemetz, recording secretary; Wilma Slagle, corresponding secretary; and the Rev. John C. Lappin, treasurer. Directors include: Mrs. Frank Heidinger, H. D. Willard, S. O. Dale, Lex Tickner, Peter G. Rapp and Charles Reed.

This recently organized historical society already has 250 members. The annual dues are \$1.00, and election of officers is held in August. The Society plans to compile data on important events and personages in Wayne County's history.

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